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27 February 1984

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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27 February 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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WESTERN JOURNALIST DISCUSSES BALKAN DIVISIONS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 14 Jan 84 supplement p 3

[Article by Viktor Meier: "The Splintered Balkans--Efforts for Cooperation Keep Foundering over Disparate Interests"]

[Text] Some years ago, the story goes, a gypsy in the Romanian Banat felt like traveling to Spain to participate there in choosing a gypsy king. So he went to the municipal committee and asked for a passport and visa. There the people started to discuss the question from every point of view and consulted the police, who in turn made inquiries with the Ministry of the Interior in Bucharest. In addition all councils in the district and the administrative division were deeply involved. After a couple of months a positive decision was reached at all levels. The gypsy was summoned, and the authorities told him they were very pleased to inform him that the Romanian people's authority had approved his request to travel to Spain. The gypsy, however, was astonished: "To Spain? I returned from there a couple of weeks ago."

Today this story could not be told any longer. The secret trails on the Romanian-Yugoslav border where it used to be possible for many a person with skill, money and a kind word occasionally to induce the guards to look the other way do not exist any more. The border in the Banat has become a bloody border. Ever since the Yugoslavs, in light of conditions in Romania, refuse to return refugees coming from there, not only the wave of refugees but the trigger-happiness of the Romanian border guards has increased greatly. During his last visit to Bucharest, the Yugoslav head of state, Spiljak, protested the Romanians' border violations. Romanian patrol boats on the Danube have fired at and killed refugees who had already reached the Yugoslav side of the river or even the Yugoslav shore.

There has always been something special about neighborly relations and cooperation in the Balkans. In addition to Albania, Yugoslavia and Romania are states of the communist part of this region which have committed themselves to the idea of national independence. On all official occasions their leaders claim that the two countries have "exemplary relations" with one another. There also was a time (a number of years back by now and therefore already described as "golden") when citizens of both countries, at least those near the border, were able to cross the frontier like normal people and go

into stores to buy things. Yugoslavs would come to Temesvar, and--though more seldom--Romanians to Vrbas or even Belgrade. Evidently this went too far, however. Already some years ago Romania introduced strict currency and export barriers which made it impossible for Yugoslavs to make purchases, and a little more than a year ago the Yugoslavs followed suit by requiring a deposit in case of trips abroad. The border crossings have become lonely spots.

It would be unjust, however, only to point up Romania and Yugoslavia in citing examples on the subject of cooperation in southeastern Europe. Since the time following the oil crisis of 1973, when after the hopeful sixties economic conditions began to deteriorate, each and every country has again been looking strictly after its own interests, anxiously shutting itself off from its neighbors. Once again it is apparent how little cohesion the entire region basically has and how even small differences in economic conditions and the system are preventing normal relations between states and people. When Hungary began to approach Western conditions as regards variety and price structure, the land of the Magyars was besieged by purchase-mad socialist neighbors. Hungary defended itself with export barriers for food and other consumer goods. Nevertheless the Hungarian forint has become such a desirable currency in the Eastern bloc that the Poles even give dollars for it. Officially one forint is worth 1.7 Czechoslovak korunas, unofficially three. Romanians, we have been told, pay fantastic amounts of lei for Hungarian forints. But Bulgaria too, which on a modest basis has attained a remarkable stability of supply, is defending itself with export barriers not only against Romanians but--because of the low subsidized prices--also against Greeks.

These Balkans, splintered to such an extent, these days intend to look at "higher forms" of cooperation. In the second half of January, at the invitation of Greek Prime Minister Papandreou, "experts"--essentially department heads of foreign ministries--from five countries are to meet in Athens for a new multilateral conference. The countries are Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Romania and Bulgaria. The official agenda consists of two items: multilateral cooperation and the project of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Balkans.

The plan of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Balkans emerged from the haze of various combinations of ideas sometime in the sixties and was then revived in 1981 by the Bulgarian head of state and party, Zhivkov, on the occasion of the 1300th anniversary of the first Bulgarian state. In light of the Western counterarming and the Soviet so-called countermeasures, the project has now attained a certain topical importance. One would hardly be amiss in assuming that behind the active propaganda for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Balkans there is hiding among the Balkan states belonging to the Warsaw Pact, including Bulgaria, a preventative resistance against possible Soviet intentions also to station nuclear missiles in the Balkans. The Soviet Union, it is being stated particularly on the part of Bulgaria, is said to be in agreement in principle with the project, particularly since the only nuclear weapons in the Balkans at present exist on the Greek NATO bases.

This means that at least on the basis of the present state of affairs, it is rather the Western side which would suffer if the Balkans were turned into a zone free of nuclear weapons. Greece's socialist prime minister, Papandreou, with his changeable ways and his ambiguous choice of words, is no dependable guarantee of Western interests in the Balkans. Nevertheless the Soviet assent is unlikely to be exactly enthusiastic. Particularly Ceausescu has all along come to the fore with all kinds of proposals on how such a zone should be "organized" and "enriched" with ways of cooperation. However, Andropov is said to have told him already at Brezhnev's funeral that Balkan cooperation without any participation by the Soviet Union was bound to be illusory.

Bilateral Relations

There really is no need for Moscow to be worried. It has never been possible to create in the Balkans a system based on identical interests that works. The closest thing to it perhaps were the alliances in 1912 between Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Greece aimed at driving the Turks out of Europe.

After World War I the Petite Entente was created in the northern part of southeastern Europe. It was directed primarily against Hungary and petered out when the power of National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy made it prudent for the Romanians and Yugoslavs to seek an accommodation with these countries.

In the early thirties there emerged the idea of complementing the Petite Entente with a "Balkan League" in the southern Balkans. This plan came closest to the idea of overall regional cooperation to insure peace without identifying a particular enemy in that Bulgaria, which had been defeated in World War I, was also expressly requested to participate. The Bulgarians deliberated for a long time but then reached a negative decision after all because, as they put it, they did not want to sign the Peace of Neuilly (1919) a second time. Even as the Balkan League was formed, the divergence of interests made itself felt, with each member being afraid of being involved in entanglements as a result of some remote disputes of one of the partners.

After World War II the Balkans were more divided than ever. Greece and Turkey were on the side of the West. With British and then U.S. aid, the Greeks managed to prevent the attempt to integrate them into the communist camp. Today Papandreou and his socialist followers hardly want to have anything to do with that aid any more. On the communist side of the Balkans too, despite ideological agreement, neither peace nor neighborliness prevailed. Soviet imperialism, seeking not allies but subjects in the Balkans, came up against Yugoslavia and forced its satellites also to sharpen their knives against Tito. After 1955 the gap could never be bridged again completely. In 1957 there occurred the first timid attempt of general Balkan cooperation, with the then Romanian prime minister, Stoica, proposing a meeting of the heads of government of all Balkan states. At the time this was regarded as a Soviet-inspired attempt to soften NATO's southern flank, but this was probably only partially true, for at about the same time--only shortly after the Hungarian popular revolt--the then Romanian leader, Gheorghiu-Dej, with

a great deal of guile caused the Soviet forces to leave Romania. This laid the foundation for the "independent" foreign policy of that country, formally proclaimed in 1964.

In the sixties and early seventies there was no lack of proposals for renewing the ties of general cooperation in the Balkans beyond bloc boundaries, but they seldom bore fruit. General progress was made in bilateral relations, however. Yugoslavia became conscious of the advantages of its situation as a country of transit. It expanded relations and tourism. Bulgaria, which in the early sixties had been the first country of the Eastern bloc to start expanding Western tourism with a view to attracting foreign currency, showed such interest in its communications toward the West that it gave Yugoslavia the funds needed for expanding the road leading from Nish to the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border. Greece, after long hesitation, normalized its relations with its northern neighbors, and the military regime too adhered to this policy of normalization. Finally, Romania after 1964 was in a mood of upswing and national enthusiasm--which now, as a result of Ceausescu's personal policy, appears to have been turned into the opposite. That country too opened up to Western tourism at that time, apparently determined to accomplish its planned economic rise in accordance with Western concepts. Even the national minorities in Romania had reason to hope then that despite an increasing nationalist climate they would participate in the expected climb. In short, the sixties and early seventies were an era of omnilateral progress in the Balkans, including neighborly relations, even though politically there was not a lot of talk about far-reaching multilateral projects. In turn, there were some respectable accomplishments--for example, the power plant at the Iron Gate built jointly by Romania and Yugoslavia.

Greek Prime Minister Karamanlis after 1974 thought that the time had come for adding an institutionalized multilateral element to the generally achieved state of comparatively good bilateral relations and to the material progress achieved. This idea emanated from Greece's political needs after the end of the military dictatorship. The one-sided orientation toward the United States and NATO appeared out of date, and in the East, because of Cyprus, Turkey was an enemy again. Karamanlis also was the pathfinder for Greece's joining the European Community. The fact that this was possible manifested a great national achievement under the auspices of a liberal system, particularly if one remembers that because of the civil war against the communists Greece was not able to begin rebuilding after the war until 1949. The striving for increased diversification of foreign policy meant a search not for different ways but for adding something. Thus Karamanlis also formed ties with the north. Soon there emerged masses of Greek tourists on the other side of the northern borders, in the hotels of Ohrid and Sofia, who with interest gazed at the other, Slavic, type of Orthodoxy and at the Sofia Opera House reverently allowed the old tsarist splendor of "Boris Godunov" to take hold of them. Karamanlis was a realist, however, and knew that one had to start at a modest level. The multilateral "meeting of experts" was his idea, the first one taking place in Athens in 1976 under his auspices.

However, not even this modest initiative of multilateral cooperation met with undivided agreement. Bulgaria thought that one should first continue

to concentrate on further bilateral cooperation and introduce multilateral elements only where there was a prospect of practical benefit. Back of this attitude one could detect the Soviet distrust of any independent cooperation by the Balkan peoples but also a continuation of Bulgarian traditional attitudes. Some arguments of the Bulgarians are quite logical, for other partners, primarily Romania, at the first "meeting of experts" in Athens made far-reaching and somewhat unrealistic proposals. For example, the Romanians wanted to found a "Balkan bank." "Who is to supply the money?" Sofia asked. The Bulgarians, however, never dissociated themselves from the principle of Balkan cooperation and soon came up with their own initiatives. It is remarkable that despite their fundamental loyalty to the Soviet Union they are by no means among those who think that the presence of big powers in the Balkans is important.

The only country which as a matter of principle has no use for Balkan cooperation is Albania. Whereas before the war Fascist Italy prevented the Albanians from participating in Balkan activities, they keep their distance today of their own accord. The word in Tirana is that there are so many unsolved problems between individual Balkan states that it is better not to begin with multilateral cooperation at all. Yugoslav skepticism is based at bottom on similar arguments. The Yugoslavs, at least since 1948, have been regarding the Balkans rather as something they would like to grow out of. They point to disputes with neighboring countries--for instance, with Bulgaria in the question of Macedonia. To this has now been added the polemic with Albania about Kosovo. Yugoslavia has only just begun again to develop a greater interest in Balkan problems, probably because after the crumbling of the nonaligned movement it again needs a stronger foreign political anchoring among its neighbors. Yugoslavia has already issued invitations for a new "conference experts" in Belgrade in June. A nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Balkans, however, Yugoslavia could agree to only if it was sure that it would not change the balance of forces in the region. Yugoslavia regards such a balance as an important foundation for its security.

Intentions and Realities

The greatest obstacles to a further development of general cooperation in the Balkans, however, have been erected wherever the contrast between big declarations of intention and internal realities, including the actual demeanor toward neighbors, is greatest. Ceausescu's Romania is in the lead here. It has also become difficult in the Balkans to accept Ceausescu as an exponent of foreign policy while Romania's internal realities are incapable of supporting the highflown slogans and while daily contact with Romania, from economic and financial questions to border and minority questions, has become such a source of difficulty. The value of Ceausescu inherent in his attitude toward the Soviet Union, which still exists as far as the West is concerned, is partly canceled as a result.

Contradictions, though of minor importance, can even be noted in Greece, now serving as the host for the meeting of experts. Papandreu, with an anti-Western undertone, today may regard Balkan cooperation and particularly the advocacy of a nuclear-weapon-free zone as an important element of his policy,

but when it is a question of opening new border crossings vis-a-vis Bulgaria or Yugoslavia or letting Greeks study in Skopje this policy is not mentioned any longer. Greece caused the funds of international organizations for regulating the Vardar to fall by the wayside only because in the pertinent treaty with Yugoslavia it objected to the mention of its Republic of Macedonia. Macedonia was something other than this republic, they said in Athens and Thessaloniki. This may be true from the Greek point of view, but as long as such gaps are created between Balkan states even by toponymic considerations, it is hardly likely that one will get past the overtures in multilateral cooperation.

8790

CSO: 2300/244

IDEA FOR BALKAN NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE UPHELD

Sofia ZEMEDELKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 14 Jan 84 p 4

[Article by Radoslav Khristov: "A Nuclear-Free Zone in the Balkans Is a Necessary, Priority and Attainable Common Objective of the Balkan Peoples"]

[Text] "We value highly the idea of making the Balkans a nuclear-free zone and the need to do everything possible together with the other Balkan countries and their governments to ensure its implementation. This is of exceptional importance to our entire peninsula and Europe and, in general, the development of the world. The very fact that this idea is being discussed for the Balkans, considering that we are small countries, indicates the significant and objectively increased role played by small countries in the present international situation." Todor Zhivkov

The active efforts made by a number of Balkan countries to make a specific contribution to the conversion of the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone are meeting with the understanding and approval of all peace-loving forces. Our country's initiative of taking joint steps aimed at the practical implementation of this topical idea played the role of a powerful political catalyst in the development of these efforts with new strength. The 20 October 1981 suggestion of Comrade Todor Zhivkov that a meeting of the heads of the Balkan countries take place in Sofia to discuss this most important problem for the Balkans was a concentrated expression of this idea. This initiative provided a broad scope for undertaking bold political actions by the public and the official circles in a number of Balkan countries and established favorable conditions for a meeting by Balkan country experts, as suggested by A. Papandreou, the Greek prime minister, to be held next week in Athens.

The holding of the experts' meeting in Athens coincides with the initiation of the first step of the conference on measures to strengthen trust and security and disarmament in Europe, which will open in Stockholm, at the other end of the European continent. Although accidental, this coincidence is a manifestation of the common resolve of the Balkan and the other peoples of Europe to struggle jointly against the threat of war, created by the actions of the most reactionary and aggressive imperialist forces, and to spare their continent the horrors of a nuclear catastrophe. This is also the purpose of the idea of converting the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone, something which will unquestionably be the focal point of attention of the experts meeting in Athens.

The importance of this encounter will be largely based on the extent to which all Balkan countries will be on the level of the requirements of our time and will be able to take a major step forward, aimed at reaching a specific stage of a general agreement in principle regarding the establishment of a nuclear-free zone and at preparations for the suggested summit meeting. Abundant favorable prerequisites to this effect exist. They are based above all on the vital interest of all Balkan peoples to eliminate once and for all the most destabilizing and serious source of mistrust and insecurity in the Balkans -- the nuclear weapons deployed here, which are the material carriers of the threat of an outbreak of a destructive nuclear conflict in this part of the world.

The growing popularity and active support of the idea of a nuclear-free zone are increasingly strengthening the view that under the present circumstances the conversion of the Balkan into such a zone is a necessary, priority and attainable objective which requires joint efforts if it is to be reached quickly and thus protect the Balkans from the tension, danger and risks existing in other parts of the world.

The forthcoming exchange of views in Athens will be the first meeting of government experts from the Balkan countries to discuss on the practical level the question of establishing a nuclear-free zone in an important part of Europe. Given good will and a constructive approach on the part of all participants, the Balkan states may have the opportunity to set the example of specific actions in this respect, which would be of great importance to all other areas where countries with different sociopolitical systems and political orientations coexist. The active stance in favor of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, assumed by countries affiliated with the two confronting military alliances in Europe is an indication that such memberships are not an insurmountable obstacle to participation in the zone. Although the Balkan countries cannot ban and eliminate nuclear weapons by themselves, it is within their full power to free the Balkans from the nightmare of a nuclear threat and to establish a nuclear-free zone.

In the course of their work the experts will probably discuss other important problems related to strengthening the climate of reciprocal trust and security in the Balkans. The many suggestions made by the Warsaw Pact members, aimed at reducing the danger of war in Europe and ensuring European peace and security, are a constructive base for discussions along this line. Another contribution to pursuing a proper line will be the consideration of the suggestions formulated by our country at the 12th BCP Congress, aimed at strengthening peace, understanding and good-neighborly cooperation in the Balkans.

The Bulgarian public will follow with interest the meeting of Balkan country experts in Athens in the hope that it will make a contribution to the joint efforts to prevent a nuclear war and to ensure a peaceful future for our small peninsula, Europe and the rest of the world.

5003
CSO: 2200/70

ROLE OF PROSECUTOR, INVESTIGATOR IN PENAL PROCESS

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No3, Jul 83 pp 54-57

[Laws on Some Changes in the Code of Penal Procedure of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania]

[Text] On the basis of Article 67 of the Constitution;

At the proposal of the Council of Ministers;

THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA RESOLVES:

Article 1

That the following changes be made in the Code of Penal Procedure of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania:

1. Article 1 is modified as follows:

The content of penal procedure legislation

"Penal procedure legislation expresses the will of the working class and the other working masses and is an important tool of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the struggle against penal acts. It establishes regulations for the investigation and judging of penal cases and for the monitoring activity of the prosecutor."

2. A third paragraph, reading as follows, is added to Article 50:

"For legitimate reasons, the prosecutor has the right to revoke the approval of an arrest. The revocation cancels the arrest decision which was issued by the investigator."

3. Article 52 is amended as follows:

Investigative Organs

"The investigation of a penal act is carried out by the investigative organs."

4. In articles 55, 56, 58, 59, 72, 74, 98, 101, 102, 107 and 108, the words "chief of the investigation sector," "director of investigation" or "director of the Directorate of Investigation" are removed and the words "head of the office of investigation in the district" and "head of the Office of the Investigator General," respectively. In articles 55 and 72, the words "Ministry of Internal Affairs" are removed.

5. Article 54 is amended as follows:

"The organs of investigation are composed of the Office of the Investigator General and the offices of investigation in the districts."

6. Article 57 is amended as follows:

"The organs of investigation carry out investigations of all penal acts, with the exception of those specified in the third paragraph of Article 63 of the Code of Penal Procedure, and also of cases sent by the district courts."

7. The second paragraph of Article 61 is amended as follows:

"The periods of time are calculated from the date on which the organ of investigation receive the accusation to the date that the case is sent to court or dismissed."

After the second paragraph of Article 61, a new paragraph, with the following content, is added:

"When the case is returned by the court for more investigation, the investigators complete the investigation activity within a month."

8. The third paragraph of Article 63 is amended as follows:

"For penal acts specified in articles 119, 120, 176, 177, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 195, 204, 205, and 206, the penal case begins with the requests of the plaintiff and ends when the plaintiff withdraws his request. The withdrawal of the request is allowed as long as the decision of the court has not taken final form, with the exception of cases in which the prosecutor takes part in the judgment of the case."

9. The first paragraph of Article 64 is amended as follows:

"Each enterprise, institution or organization, as well as each citizen, has the right and obligation to make accusations regarding the committing of a penal act to the investigative organs, to the court, to the office of the prosecutor, to the internal affairs organs, to local government organs and to the commands of military units."

10. The first paragraph of Article 68 is amended as follows:

Detention

"The organs of investigation, the internal affairs organs and the unit commands for the military have the right to detain any person who is suspected of having committed a penal act which is punishable by deprivation of freedom, only in cases in which:"

11. In Article 73, a new paragraph, with the following content, is added after the third paragraph:

"The court, the judge acting alone, and the investigator send the prosecutor and the organs which have made the accusation a copy of the decision to dismiss or not to hear the penal case."

12. The first paragraph of Article 74 is amended as follows:

"The investigator is exempted from carrying out the investigations for the reasons stated in articles 110 and 111 of this Code."

13. Article 81 is amended as follows:

Rights of the Witness

"When the interrogation is concluded, the official report is given to the witness to read and he has the right to ask that the official report be supplemented or corrected."

14. In Article 102, a fourth paragraph is added, with the following content:

"When the prosecutor has announced that he will take part in the conclusion of the investigations, the case cannot be brought to a conclusion in his absence."

15. Article 103 is amended as follows:

Exercise of control by the prosecutor during the investigation

"In order to ensure legality, the prosecutor has the right to be aware, at all times, of all the material of the investigation and to be present during the investigations carried out by the investigator and to sign the official report."

16. Article 104 is amended as follows:

"When the prosecutor becomes aware of illegal documents or decisions or other violations of the law during the investigation of the case, as occasion demands, he has the right to make a protest or a statement to a higher investigative organ. Supporting material should be attached to the protest or the statement."

The investigative organ is obliged to examine the protest within 10 days of its receipt."

17. A third paragraph, with the following content, is added to Article 179:

"The district prosecutor has the right to examine definitive court decisions and to propose that the Prosecutor General carry out the requirement that legality be protected."

18. Articles 127 and 147 are abrogated.

19. In the third paragraph of Article 59, the words, "is judged directly," are replaced by the words "is prosecuted at the request of the plaintiff."

20. In Article 126, in the third line, the words "both for those which are judged directly," and also point 4 are removed.

21. In Article 148, in the final paragraph, Article 147 is removed [as published].

Article 2

This law goes into effect on 1 September 1983.

Tirana, 29 June 1983

Law No: 6801

Secretary of the Presidium of the
People's Assembly of the People's
Socialist Republic of Albania

SIHAT TOZAJ

Chairman of the Presidium of the
People's Assembly of the People's
Socialist Republic of Albania

RAMIZ ALIA

CSO: 2100/31

BULGARIA

STATE COUNCIL DECREES ON GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 13 Jan 84 pp 3-4

[National Assembly Ukase No 7]

[Text] In accordance with Article 84, Paragraph 1, and Article 93, Point 6 of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic hereby

Decrees:

The publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK of the Resolution on Structural and Personnel Changes in the Council of Ministers and Its Organs and Personnel Changes in the State Council.

Chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: T. Zhivkov

Secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: N. Manolov

Resolution

on Structural and Personnel Changes in the Council of Ministers and its Organs and Personnel Changes in the State Council

In accordance with Article 78, Points 14 and 16, and Article 100 of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the National Assembly has

Resolved

I

1. That the Ministry of Light Industry will merge with the Ministry of Internal Trade and Public Services to become the Ministry of Production of and Trade in Consumer Goods.

2. That the Ministry of Metallurgy and Mineral Resources will merge with the Ministry of Power Industry to become the Ministry of Energy and Raw Material Resources.

3. That the Ministry of Construction and Architecture will be renamed Ministry of Construction and Settlement Structure.

4. That the Ministry of Machine Building and Electronics will be renamed Ministry of Machine Building.

II

Assigns to the Council of Ministers to close down:

The Commission on the Living Standard, whose functions will be assumed by the National Planning Commission and the Ministry of Production of and Trade in Consumer Goods;

The Commission on Territorial and Settlement Structure, whose functions will be assumed by the State Committee for Planning and the Ministry of Construction and Settlement Structure;

The commission on the effective Utilization of Material Resources, whose functions will be assumed by the Ministry of Energy and Raw Material Resources and the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress.

III

Assigns to the Council of Ministers to submit a proposal on amending the legal acts related to the closing down, merging and changing Council of Ministers organs.

IV

Relieves:

Georgi Atanasov from the position of deputy chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic and chairman of the Committee for State and People's Control;

Ognyan Doynov, from membership in the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic;

Todor Bozhinov, from the position of first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of metallurgy and mineral resources;

Kiril Zarev, from the position of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers;

Georgi Karamanev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, from the position of minister of foreign trade and public services;

Nacho Papazov, from the position of chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress;

Toncho Chakurov, from the position of minister of machine building and electronics;

Rumen Serbezov, from the position of minister of light industry;

Ivan Sakarev, from the position of minister of construction and architecture;

Nikola Todoriev, from the position of minister of power industry;

Veselin Nikiforov, from the position of member of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for the Protection of the Environment of the Council of Ministers ;

2. Appoints:

Milko Balev member of the State council of the Bulgarian People's Republic;

Nacho Papazov member of of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

3. Appoints:

Chudomir Aleksandrov first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers;

Todor Bozhinov deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of energy and raw material resources;

Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, minister of construction and settlement structure;

Georgi Karamanev, deputy chairman of the council of ministers, minister of production of and trade in consumer goods;

Ognyan Doynov minister of machine building;

Nikola Todoriev chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress;

Toncho Chakurov member of the Council of Ministers.

The present decision was passed by the Eighth National Assembly, 12th session, held on 3 January 1984 and sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic: St. Todorov.

Ukase No 96 of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic

In accordance with Article 93, Points 7 and 16 of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic and Article 40 of the Bylaws of the Bulgarian National Bank, the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic

Decrees

Appoints:

Toncho Chakurov, member of the Council of Ministers, first deputy minister of machine building.

Ivan Sakarev first deputy minister of construction and settlement structure with the rank of minister.

Rumen Serbezov first deputy minister of production of and trade in consumer goods with the rank of minister.

Stoyan Markov first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress with the rank of minister.

Veselin Nikiforov chairman of the Committee for the Unified System for Social Information.

2. Reappoints Vasil Kolarov chairman of the Bulgarian National Bank.

3. Relieves Dano Balevski from the position chairman of the Committee for the Unified System for Social Information.

4. Awards the rank of minister to Georgi Pavlov, chairman of the Committee for the Protection of the Environment of the Council of Ministers.

The implementation of the present ukase is entrusted to the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the minister of machine building, the minister of construction and settlement structure, the minister of production of and trade in consumer goods and the chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress.

Issued in Sofia on 11 January 1984 and sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the State council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: T. Zhivkov

Secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's republic: N. Manolov

5003

CSO: 2200/69

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MILITARY AIR TRAFFIC COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT UPGRADED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 6, 1983 (signed to press 9 Sep 83)
pp 281-283

[Interview with Lt Gen W. Paduch on tasks of the Communications and Air Traffic Control Troops of the NVA, as well as on trends in their development (date and place of interview not provided): "Learn to Master Modern Communications and Air Traffic Control Equipment"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Lieutenant General! The Communications and Air Traffic Control Troops have to solve demanding and complicated tasks to safeguard the leadership of the NVA and of the GDR Border Troops. What are these tasks and how are they being met?

[Answer] To fulfill the military class mission posed at the Tenth Congress of the working class party, the Communications and Air Traffic Control Troops, too, must solve extraordinarily demanding and complicated tasks. In summary, they consist in guaranteeing in all situations constantly reliable and secure communications links for timely warning and alerting, uninterrupted command and smooth coordination of the staffs, troops, air and naval forces, including their rear, medical, and technical security, in short in creating the "army's nerves."

This places a great responsibility on our Communications and Air-Traffic Control Troops as a whole, but also on every troop crew and on each of its members in the present tense class struggle situation. The deputy minister for national defense and chief of the NVA political main administration stated at the 12th Delegate Conference: "Whoever wants to win against a well equipped and trained adversary must be trained under conditions resembling combat. That is the most important thing." (From the report of the secretariat of the NVA Political Main Administration to the 12th Delegate Conference of the SED party organization in the NVA and in the GDR Border Troops; rapporteur: Col Gen Heinz Kessler; in PARTEIARBEITER, special February 1981 issue, p 35). The members of the Communications and Air Traffic Control Troops have correctly understood this demand and especially politically comprehended why training under conditions resembling combat and better performances are necessary. They are developing many sided initiatives that contribute to raising combat effectiveness and combat readiness.

To fulfill their combat mission, the communications troops are using many types of communications equipment with which a complex, uniform communications system

commensurate with modern troop command can be developed and operated. This system is highly flexible, multimedia-led, resistant to the effect of weapons and electronic warfare. It can be brought to a higher stage of alert within a short time.

To master this ramified system and its elements, effective utilization of the parameters and optional employment of the instruments and equipment assume, in addition to good military knowledge and skills, especially high special technical qualifications. In part new and high demands on the educational level of the communications and air traffic control personnel follow from this very fact. Therefore, the officers, warrant officers, and career NCOs of the Communications and Air Traffic Control Troops are provided with, among other things, many sided and deep technical knowledge. The long-term NCOs and soldiers, too, are given solid special technical training that enables them to act full of initiative in all situations in which they have to prove their worth under maximum physical and mental stress.

[Question] In this connection, are you able to mention to us some significant problems and coming tasks that have to be considered in man-technology relations in the Communications and Air Traffic Control Troops?

[Answer] Scientific-technical progress causes an expansion of the field of application of technology with a visible tendency toward technicalization also of mental work processes. The fields of application of microelectronics, microcomputer technology, and electronic data processing outlined at the Tenth SED Congress indicate plenty of analogous opportunities for application also in military communications. Simply because of the minimal demand for space and energy, work processes, e.g., in establishing and stopping communication links, can be largely automated. Partial automation of communications operations, including control of the information flows and control over the condition of communications facilities, networks, and systems is possible even today.

Microelectronics is being gradually used in automated or automatic control, diagnosis, and trouble-locating installations for maintenance and repair of communications equipment. Limits or an end to this process of development cannot be foreseen.

However, this does not mean that microelectronics will replace all other technologies or that automation will make man superfluous. On the contrary. For in the future man will be assigned higher functions of leadership, management, control, and analysis activity. In his mental-creative work, man will lean on modern technology and will take full advantage of its performance parameters.

In the man-technology relationship, the role of man will increase, it will change qualitatively. This will result in new demands on the communications soldier in the broadest sense of the word. What is important is to educate and train the communications specialist of the eighties and nineties that he recognizes, comprehends and consciously carries out his decisive role in relation to technology under the changed conditions.

All-around preparation of our people, who in final analysis will decide on fulfillment of the combat mission, timely establishment, and secure maintenance of

communications links, therefore must always be in the center of our political work and combat training; it must have primacy over all others. Crucial points are:

--Further raising of the quality of the political, psychological, and physical preparation of the communications and air traffic control personnel of all service ranks and duty assignments.

--Perfecting the special training and military-technical education, so that our specialists master modern communications technology, i.e. that they are able to operate them with assurance and fully use them, that they have a healthy attitude toward the technology and to the national wealth invested in it and that they maintain and repair it according to regulations and so-to-speak "lovingly."

--More consistent education toward independence, toward functional discipline and responsible action shaped by collective and internationalist thinking and behavior.

--Development of the capability for system thinking as prerequisite for assignment to higher positions (operator, controller, inspector, analyzer) in the communications system.

Successes to date confirm the correctness of the adopted road. I feel that our communications specialists can optimally employ and utilize the complicated technical facilities that certain pieces of communications equipment and sets of communications equipment even now constitute in accordance with their high performance parameters.

[Question] What performance characteristics and qualities characterize the communications technology with which the Communications and Air Traffic Control Troops are now equipped?

[Answer] Let me first state that the Communications and Air Traffic Control Troops, in accordance with their mission, are also well equipped owing to the constant efforts of the party, state and army leadership, unselfish assistance of the USSR and the other CEMA countries as well as the diligent work of the scientists, designers, and the other working people of the electronics industry and other branches of the economy. They have a wide assortment of modern communications technology, which includes channel formers and all types of junction elements.

They include:

--Radio, direction-finding, and tropospheric radio equipment of all performance classes, frequency ranges, modulation procedures and types of operation, as well as satellite ground stations, all of them with high-frequency constancy, operational reliability and protection against interference; with them connections can be made so-to-speak right away without time-consuming searching of the remote station.

--Carrier frequency field cable with apparatuses for multiple use, with which entire tracts and trunk lines of qualitatively high-grade communications channels can be formed.

--automatic and manually operated transmissions for different purposes, subscriber capacity, and transmissibility.

--a broad spectrum of peripheral and terminal equipment.

--efficient generating installations and

--varied mobile means of the courier and armed forces postal service that we cannot imagine doing without also under modern conditions.

For the fulfillment of special tasks, the Communications and Air Traffic Control Troops have modern electronic technology in all military services whose performance characteristics and qualities meet the demands of modern combat and operations regarding speed, mobility, crosscountry capability and floatability, protection against the effect of weapons and electronic influence, speed of establishing contact, etc. If our communications technology is intelligently applied, it guarantees reliable, trustworthy and secure transmission of information in the collection of initial data for decision making as well as in setting of tasks for the troops by the leaders and commanders.

The communications equipment consists of several generations of instruments. That is true the world over. Thus the technology has different design and production characteristics: from unit construction via modular design to the use of integrated circuits and microprocessors. Of course, this raises problems in operation, maintenance and material supply.

Today communications links are produced in collective work in the truest sense of the word, whereby many pieces of equipment or entire equipment sets are being employed. Moreover, at present relatively many processes are being controlled manually or electromechanically. But it is known that man, because of different qualifications, psychological effects and other factors, constitutes a principal source of mistakes. With progressing introduction of microelectronics and automation technology, control and regulating processes are automated for establishing and stopping but also for operating communications links and, as already stated, man is being assigned step by step higher functions of mental-creative activity.

[Question] Please explain in some detail the problems arising therefrom and the next tasks for material and technical safeguarding as well as for the military-economic work?

[Answer] I'll be happy to do so, but in view of the broad field mentioned by you in your question I'll have to restrict myself to principles.

It is logical that a multitude of problems arise simply because of the parallel existence of several generations of communications technology in all fields of material and technical safeguarding, from determination of demand, stockpiling and warehousing, delivery and operational testing up to material safeguarding of servicing, diagnosis and repair of all categories and degrees of difficulty. This is being increasingly better recognized and taken into account by the chiefs/directors of communications and the commanders of communications units

and the specialists of the material-technical safeguarding (Na). Today we need, for example, more narrowly specialized repair personnel with a high degree of qualifications in the repair shops at all command levels, a more extensive, complicated, and complex testing and measuring equipment depot and a more abundant spare parts assortment.

Therefore, material-technical safeguarding (Na) comprises more than resupply and evacuation of complete technology, of spare parts and expendable supplies as such. Among other things, it includes the increasingly important measuring system, battery charging, protection of health and safety, and auditing of installations, implementation of technical changes, and organization and carrying out of maintenance work, in short everything that guarantees high technical operational readiness of the communications equipment. Tasks resulting therefrom are set down in Order No. 040/9/207. Today material-technical safeguarding is EDP-supported and has considerably improved compared to the past. This is being continued with singlemindedness. Planning and organizing must be done according to the principles of

--highest effectiveness and strictest economizing;

--the most efficient use of forces and means as well as the material and financial funds.

This brings me to the second part of the question. The objectively required increase in combat effectiveness and combat readiness in the Communications and Air Traffic Control Troops can be achieved only if all sources are being utilized and the inner reserves are uncovered.

In this connection, efficient use of the financial and material means, their careful handling, effective employment of the forces, and further increase in the productivity in the warehousing and repair facilities attain considerably greater importance. Among other things, this necessitates even better planning and organization of the military-economic work, more effective measures for economizing regarding material.

As shown in a recent finance economic control in depth, some quite respectable successes have already been achieved, which I would like to illustrate by some examples.

During the 1981/82 training year, the consumption and storage norms for over 100,000 articles were made so precise that savings of over 25 million marks could be achieved. That is a good result that many have helped achieve. However, some control results proved that we cannot yet be satisfied with the achievement.

Or: In the area of one command we were able to save several dozen million marks in foreign exchange by substituting GDR products for import parts and imported communications equipment was used beyond the standard service life in courses or at stationary facilities. In another command, commercial imports of more than a million marks could be saved by regeneration measures.

Rationalization measures in individual workshop areas of the Brendel facility brought about a 100-percent increase in labor productivity and more productive

utilization of the installations. Introduction of bonus hourly pay for the civilian repair personnel has contributed to that here and in other places.

But in this category also belong more efficient utilization of the training base and more effective use of the instructional combat equipment "in shifts," charging of fees to meet costs for services performed for third parties as well as introduction of the bonus hourly rate for civilian telephone and teletype personnel as stimulus for higher performances and other efforts.

What is important in the future is optimizing of all processes connected with the introduction of new communications equipment. Starting from the operational necessity and the economic and technical possibilities, decision making, planning, training of personnel, introduction, utilization, maintenance, and disposal must be organized and carried out in a more uniform and harmonious cycle than heretofore.

[Question] Maintenance and diagnostic work are of great importance for maintaining operational readiness of the communications equipment. Is communications equipment requiring less maintenance likely as part of scientific-technical progress?

[Answer] As far as the trend goes, that is correct. The reliability of communications equipment increases by leaps and bounds as a result of more use of microelectronics and semiconductor technology. However, this trend is not yet so noticeable in military communications and air traffic control technology because here solutions are being sought on how to increase the operational capabilities of the communications equipment qualitatively as well as quantitatively by means of microelectronics and semiconductor technology. What is important here is to achieve considerably more functions with the same volume. What is involved are more communications channels, greater operational reliability, automation of the operating processes and of the communications operation, introduction of new transmission procedures and the like.

Every set of communications equipment of course includes apparatuses that are not subject to such stormy development. They are, e.g., power-supply and charging installations, switching panels, plug connections, mechanical parts, auxiliary equipment, etc. However, without their functional efficiency the whole system does not work. Therefore, the importance of complex maintenance also as regards its prophylactic function increases. Only if it can be carried out according to the guideline 040/8/101 and the instruction 040/1/012 continuously and meeting quality standards, can premature breakdowns be prevented.

Technical diagnostics is of equal importance. It is a method by which information can be obtained within a short time and precisely concerning condition and operational readiness of the communications and air traffic control equipment. Therefore, it is important to continue developing widely such diagnostic devices which permit findings without dismantling the technology (test and measuring devices, test setups and checkpoints, etc) and gradually to automate the evaluation process.

In conclusion I would like to say: The task consists in providing all-around preparation for the communications soldiers for timely and successful fulfillment of combat missions under changed military-political and technical conditions. In this task, I wish much success to the members of the Communications and Air Traffic Control Troops.

12356

CSO: 2300/247

ANTISUBMARINE WARFARE TRAINING METHODS DESCRIBED

East Berlin AR-ARMEEFUNDSCHAU in German No 1, Jan 84 (signed to press 22 Nov 83) pp 36-41

[Article by Lt Col Ernst Gebauer: "Hunting With Sound and Electronics"]

[Text] The "Perleberg" rolled wickedly. In the darkened hydro operations room one could hear the thumping and jolting of the water masses attacking the ship's hull with a force that made the ribs groan. It was more than unpleasant. There below, barely a hand breadth above the keel, staff enlisted man Kahle crouched in front of his station. As part of a submarine search and strike group the "Perleberg" was operating in the eastern portion of the North Sea. The hydroacoustic watch was on duty. Ever since the beginning of the watch he had been staring at the luminous green monitor to detect the smallest of differences in the trembling light zigzags of the optically visible acoustic echo. At the same time he listened to the beeping tone of the acoustic echo, listening for any deviation in its tone quality....

"The most important tactical characteristic of the submarine is its concealment. For this reason the submarine crew will pay careful attention to hydrological-acoustical conditions." That is what the trainers at the naval school had repeatedly said before their exposition of the physical aspects of the situation. They had explained that sound propagates almost five times as fast in water as it does in air. That it is especially fast in warm water and slower in cold water. And they had explained how even oceans are not uniformly warm but that depending upon solar irradiation, flow and salt content the oceans are structured into layers of different temperatures and hence of different densities, which seldom mix so that the acoustic waves are deflected or refracted at these layers. Thus, it was explained, there arose dead spaces into which the acoustic beam cannot penetrate and from which in consequence no echo can emerge. It is precisely such spaces which are used by the submarine to fully exploit its advantage.

Was the "enemy" located in such a space now? A submarine was supposed to be present in the area of the maneuvers. One from the Baltic Red Banner Fleet which obviously was making every effort to provide practical experience for its brothers-in-arms because school knowledge alone would certainly not suffice to fit them for today's military strategic conditions.

The actual enemy--NATO ships--is continually strengthening his presence in the North Sea and is doing that "as far to the east as possible"; that's how his newspapers describe it in the style of a front-line reporter. As much as two-thirds of the submarines of the Navy of the Federal Republic of Germany are assigned to use in the North Sea and conduct their exercises there. They are characterized not only by a technique and weaponry adapted to that marine area (diving depth to 200 meters, velocity underwater of 19 sea miles, 8 torpedo tubes for wire-guided torpedoes, 36 mines). In addition, the crews of the FRG fleet think of themselves as a part of the tradition of the former very aggressive submarine personnel of the fascistic wartime navy. The FRG submarines navigate along the coast of the socialist countries usually while submerged, in other words while concealed, in order to familiarize themselves with terrain, search out possible places of concealment, determine hydrological conditions and especially in order to test the submarine defense of the allied socialist fleets.

To this enemy we must give no opportunity! What a serious task this is! A single uneliminated submarine of the FRG type 206 with its eight guided torpedoes could with one blow destroy the combat function of eight ships. Is staff enlisted man Kahle at this very moment in front of his hydro station giving thought to these matters? Not very likely. But after many a 4-hour hydroacoustic watch, when he takes his eyes off the glimmering monitor screen and puts down the earphones then such thoughts come to him. "One must really understand why one is aboard and what the consequences are!" is a remark which he has often made not only in the party gatherings. On this basis the young communist Rolf Kahle deals with his combat tasks. And this has its effect upon the collective....

The hydro operator continued to search tensely for that special echo. Finally he heard a sound like hitting a filled watering can. Yes, that had to be the echo of the submarine. Contact!

The activities that now took place on the ship would fill a dozen pages if one wanted to describe every electronic equipment operation now initiated together with the corresponding tactical activities of the crew. Only a small number of these activities were visible.

"Submarine attack with UAW torpedo following hydro station data!" ordered the commander. Now Comrade Kahle had to keep continuous contact with the submarine under all circumstances, continuously reporting to the other combat stations the bearing and distance to the submarine. Both of these values together with the course and velocity of the "Perleberg" were fed by the interdiction weapons guidance technician into the weapons guidance facility. He promptly obtained from its computer the course and the velocity of the submarine. These formed the basis of the attack parameters such as running depth and lead angle which had to be fed to the torpedo.

Ships of the type of the "Perleberg" also have at their disposal reactive depth charge projectors. After a second computing operation the weapons guidance facility of these projectors aimed continuously at the submarine in terms of elevation and side. To this end course and velocity of the

"Perleberg" were once again fed into the computer by the technician but this time also the course and velocity of the submarine together with bearing and distance to it. The depth charge projectors could at any moment go into action in the event that the torpedo missed the submarine. All derived values and their changes as continuously modified by the computers--both the "Perleberg" and the submarine were in motion and changed their relative position--were continuously also furnished by the personnel of the combat section interdiction weapons (torpedo, depth charges, mines) to the primary command station. There ever since the beginning of the hydroacoustic watch these data were entered into the working chart by the first mate [Obersteuermann]. Even though the computers delivered absolutely reliable values for use by the weapons nevertheless the graphical representation of his own tactical situation and that of the pursued submarine kept by the first mate remained the most important orientation aid for the commander during the attack.

It would be impossible to say in what sequence reports arrived at and departed from the primary command station. It was a hand-over-hand activity in which the rhythm was set by the orders of the commander. Hardly had the commander ordered the attack when he put the ship into an approach course and gave the further command: "Tube 3, clear for firing!" The torpedo personnel released the torpedo from its fastening screws in the tube, opened the valve of its air chamber and checked at sighting windows the functioning of the control mechanism of the weapons guidance facility which introduced into the torpedo the attack parameters with their continuous modification. When the report came that the tube was clear the commander brought the ship into attack course. His order: "Tube 3--ready!" was soon followed by "Fire tube!" Immediately he swung off with the ship and once again went into an approach course. It was still not certain that the torpedo would hit. The "Perleberg" had to be ready for a further attack. Even when the announcement came: "Torpedo running time expired!" there was still uncertainty. Because practice torpedoes do not hit directly. They run under the target. Exact information would not be available until the surfacing of the Soviet submarine.

No one had been giving any thought to the Soviet guest on board. The latter had also been observing the activities from locations in which he would be in nobody's way. In fact, he was on board only to be available in the event that the crew might require him for aid in these sea lanes which were unfamiliar to them. But now Vladimir Nikolayev, Capt 3d Class, went to the commander and said: "Excellent!" As Capt Lt Stimm looked at him wonderingly he added: "I was struck by the way in which the orders of the commander were continuously carried out with individual responsibility right to the very end. That has to bring success!"

And how could that experienced seaman who himself is a commander of a coast guard ship be in error? The "Perleberg" received a report of a confirmed hit. If in addition to this one took into consideration the ship's previous successful artillery firing in which (as the staff chief of the detachment put it) "the crew accomplished more than was really possible considering their experience!" it was natural to ask: How were they able to do that?

Was it as Comrade Nikolayev judged, a result of strict execution of orders? One had to agree with him. No one on the ship tried to avoid his task; as, for example, before the artillery firing: at that point problems arose in connection with feeding munitions to the 57-mm gun. Without waiting for specialists the leading seamen Biermorth and Kobus as well as their commander Lt Bush worked all night. After that their "fat boy" shot like a charm. "This weapon is modern and good," said the SED member Oliver Biermorth. "For this sort of thing you have to take time and be accurate in all maintenance jobs!" Whenever one gets around to talking about close personal application one must also say a word about Comrade Kobus. It was only recently that he came on board as a trained Ari seaman. But the "Perleberg" lacked an Ari electronics seaman. And so it was on board that Holger Kobus retrained in electronics. And he did this "as easily as and even faster than at the naval school." Lt Bush was able to give him a personal training program and books. But Comrade Kobus had to do his studying in his free time. "Often electrical currents flow in the most peculiar ways!" Kobus often sighed.

If finally one were to ask the comrades themselves why they mastered their combat tasks so well these artillerymen shifted the responsibility for the good shooting to the weapons guidance personnel and the men at the torpedo tubes ascribed it to the hydroacoustic crew, but at the same time all of them without exception credited it to the machinist personnel. It is true that the "Perleberg" ever since it was put into service always had machines that were ready for operation. For this reason it was possible for all planned combat tasks to be carried out and for some to be taken over from other ships. To this one must recur again and again. The same situation was also to be found in the machinery section: the excitement over "radial engines which as reciprocating engines yield rpm's of electromotors" had kindled interest in the new technology. But the machines gave the expected performance because they had been worked on carefully and with a sense of duty.

Meeting the communists on board, the causes of the success became still clearer. Their collective responsibility for the fulfillment of the combat task and the consequent determination to apply oneself personally to this task was always apparent. When the commander speaking to the communists evaluated this training cruise of the "Perleberg" he was therefore also in a position to say: "The class enemy sets the military standard for us. Therefore we must thoroughly learn to use the combat instrument which is our ship as effectively as possible against submarines. In this we shall succeed if we communists continue to make this viewpoint clear to the crew."

8008

CSO: 2300/262

OFFICIAL'S SPEECH ON PUBLISHING PROBLEMS, GOALS REPORTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Jan 84 p 17

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters, chief Berlin editor: "Dissatisfied Satisfaction: Klaus Hoepcke Speaking on Book Production in the GDR"]

[Text] Party and state functionaries like to call the GDR a "country of readers." They praise the existing "joy of reading" and "reading culture." Figures are now available. They show that out of 100 GDR citizens over the age of 14, 74 read at least one book per year, 36 visit a library at least once a year. It has also been said that to date, at least 8 books were printed per capita per year in the GDR. Since last year, this is no longer the case. Book production in the GDR is dropping noticeably. While in 1982, 142.6 million copies were still printed, the total printing in 1983 dropped to 134 million copies, and for 1984, only 132 million copies are planned.

Deputy Minister for Culture Klaus Hoepcke, who heads the ministry section administering publishing companies and the book trade, divulged these figures at a membership meeting of the Association of the German Book Trade in Leipzig. Hoepcke, whose speech was printed in excerpts in the Leipzig BOERSENBLATT FUER DEN DEUTSCHEN BUCHHANDEL [GERMAN BOOK TRADE GAZETTE], commented: "We are not satisfied with the development of total production." He suggested that in future, publishers should produce more books combining economical use of paper with design and decor appropriate to their purpose. "With even greater care in determining the size of editions, which also lowers risks, and--this refers to scientific and technical literature--through tightening of contents and reduction of volume, further possibilities of increasing total production must be developed."

The reason for this shrinking book production lies in the acute paper shortage in the GDR. Hoepcke reminded his audience that the national economic plan for 1983 called for lowering specific material and energy consumption by 9 percent. This also applies to book production. This was all the more reason to deliberate even more thoroughly than previously "before making decisions on how best to use both quantity and quality of the paper supply entrusted to us."

Hoepcke mentioned two problems of special gravity to publishers and book dealers in the GDR: the high export obligations of the publishing companies, and the large inventory of poorly selling books. "We are fighting for high profits and great improvement rates; we are striving for maximum performance of export plans for the non-socialist market, and an effective lowering of inventories." In exporting GDR literature--preferably to "capitalist foreign countries"--the GDR is not only concerned with increasing its foreign currency income (although the supply of literature available to the public is rigorously subordinated to this goal), but also with agitation and propaganda. The publishers, and not only those of sociological literature, are called upon to "unmask the misanthropic policy of U.S. Imperialism and its NATO allies." Hoepcke stated that one of the most urgent missions of publishing is what the SED categorizes as "counterpropaganda."

In order to achieve economic success in foreign trade in Hoepcke's opinion, it is necessary to go beyond individual examples and offer a wide assortment of quality products, and he added: "We all know that we do not sufficiently implement this because, unfortunately, we still have too few book titles of top quality." The deputy culture minister also pointed to certain factors detrimental to export: Publishing companies' occasional shortcomings regarding deadlines and quality vis-a-vis the printing trade, and vice versa; insufficient flexibility of the printing trade in case of sudden demand; protracted delivery dates; underdeveloped customers' service.

For these reasons, the Association of the German Book Trade in Leipzig included this obligation in its work program for 1984-1986: "The association supports concentration of all available forces on increasing literary exports, including issuance of licenses, especially to the non-socialist market." Enterprises and institutions of the publishing and book trade affiliated with the Association of the German Book Trade have a total of some 12,000 employees. The association has 1,313 members, among them 80 publishing companies, some 700 "people's bookstores" and organization-owned bookshops, and approximately 480 private bookstores and specialized dealers.

Hoepcke mentioned that, in 1983, happily, more books were sold than produced in the GDR. However, efforts would have to be redoubled now to reduce the inventories. This is a pressing economic task. Greater initiatives in the field of advertising and information are needed by publishers, the "Leipzig Commission and Wholesale Book Trade" and the people's book trade. It is intolerable that some publishing companies, because of extremely low sales of these book titles at present, might still have to sell a large number of these books in the year 2000. As causes for the large "risk-laden" inventories of unsold books, the deputy minister mentioned that planning of editions does not adequately take into account existing stocks and real demand; inventory reduction measures are taken too late and not to the extent required; changes in the textbook program and changed buying attitudes of students, as well as reduced purchases of scientific literature by city and district libraries, are not sufficiently taken into consideration.

Referring to belletristic literature in the GDR during the past 2 years, "book minister" Hoepcke felt there is a growing tendency towards greater historical awareness and "historism" in GDR literature. This phenomenon is closely linked to enriched esthetic forms of representing social situations, emphasizing individual ways of thinking, feeling, acting; "in short, leading one's own life in socialist society." According to Hoepcke, GDR literature will not evade the contradictions and conflicts of a society which lives with such contradictions and conflicts, but he qualified this statement: "Manuscripts expressing determinism about the future, skepticism about the realizability of socialist ideals, or wrongly generalize certain phenomena, must be discussed with the authors and in the publishing houses. We will grow especially with those works whose conflict structure between freedom and responsibility is determined by the larger possibilities available to the individual in a socialist society; books which show how he can, and must, influence the course of events."

9917

CSO: 2300/257

CATHOLIC EDITORIAL PRAISES IMPROVED CHURCH SITUATION

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 1 Jan 84 p 1

[Editorial by Ferenc Magyar, editor-in-chief of UJ EMBER: "Raising the Standard"]

[Text] With the beginning lines in the first 1984 issue of UJ EMBER we wish our dear readers a blessed and peaceful new year. Our good wishes are filled with joy because on the holiday of the gift-bearing Christ we also are able to place a gift under the Christmas tree of our readers: our weekly newspaper which has been expanded in size and printed with modern technology.

In the past half year we have been deeply concerned that because of our increasing printing difficulties we would be unable to provide our readers with their Sunday newspaper. In searching for various solutions we were sympathetically supported by the appropriate state offices: the State Church Office and the Council of Ministers' Information Office. At length it was with their help that we found the reassuring solution. Beginning with this issue, the UJ EMBER will be printed on eight pages by the Zrinyi Press with offset-rotation technology. To assure the secure appearance of our newspaper we had to choose this solution although additional expenses will be incurred because of the greater size, the modern printing technology, the publication of pictures, paper quality, and additional postage costs because of the weight of the paper; and thus starting as of now we will have less savings to devote to the support of central Catholic institutions.

Our readers would have certainly understood if we had passed on the increased publication costs and raised the price of the paper. We thought it over and felt that since we had already so often requested and received the understanding support of our readers it was now our turn to make the sacrifice. We will not raise the price of the paper as long as price changes caused by the general economic situation and its effect on the printing industry do not force us to.

We do not have the reserves to cover the additional costs. Our only reserve is the trust and devotion of our readers which has made it possible from the start to maintain the UJ EMBER without any kind of external support

and from subscription and sale revenue alone. We are confident that our readers do not want to bring about a change in this respect and will continue to carry out their obligation of maintaining the paper even when it will mean further sacrifices. Meanwhile, they will willingly seek-and-find--the way to contribute to a greater degree than up to now to the maintenance of our Catholic institutions.

The present increase in the size of the UJ EMBER and a more favorable outward appearance is another sign of the fact that from time to time there are advances in the life of our local church which can fill us with confidence. As our Holy Father said, in response to a newspaperman's question, as he was returning aboard an airplane from his visit in Vienna: "The situation of the church in Hungary has not deteriorated but improved." A new demonstration of this is the report of the bishops' conference of 13 and 14 December according to which discussions have reached their concluding phase to grant the diocese bishops permission to hold catechism classes in the rectory building if the church does not have heating facilities.

We know that there are those among us who are not satisfied with the tempo of improvement and progress. By itself, it is not a bad sign when "the appetite grows." It indicates the health of the organization. It is also a good sign in the sense that more may be demanded only on seeing achieved results. If on looking back over the past 10 years there were no signs of development and growth and we could not perceive constantly progressive movements in the life of our local church, no one could demand a more rapid tempo. One can only encourage someone who is standing still at least to get started. But we can encourage those who are moving forward, though quietly, by taking constant and unstopping steps to take even larger steps. Our course is not an easy one, and they are greatly mistaken who believe that we can overcome the obstacles by avoiding them, by the use of forceful means or a blustering show of strength. Since its beginning the UJ EMBER has not only maintained but also practiced the principle that the favorable winds for the sails of the ecclesiastical ship are intelligent and well-considered demands, moderate and constructive impatience. But we have also always understood that an impatience which cannot wait until the food is cooked will help neither the mistress in her industriousness nor the hungry man in his condition. It is often characteristic even of apparently justified expectations that it is almost impossible to make out who expects what from whom. To put it more exactly, is he expecting something from where he might expect it? Let us reflect on our most serious problem: new entrants into priesthood. Many ideas are being circulated for the solution, and among these certain expectations are directed at the highest church leadership as well as at the state and society, but most frequently urged is the introduction of the institution of lay deacons. Undoubtedly we could already make good use of lay deacons, but how far are we from establishing the complex condition system for this purpose. In presenting the many different kinds of ideas and proposals, the question is lost whether we have done everything to make the priestly calling attractive among the young, even under present circumstances. Does nothing

weigh on the conscience of Christian families, the church communities, our catechism system of instruction, the priesthood and the education of priests in awakening and fostering the priestly calling?

We could go on naming all those demands and expectations which concern the development of our Catholic institutional network, our catechism instruction, our evangelical activities, our youth pastoral programs, and religious life in general. We can ask with cause: Have we managed intelligently and capably with the possibilities provided us up to now? Have we laid those stones and bricks on which we can lay the next row? Are we not expecting much from the provident God, the bench of bishops, the state, but little from ourselves?

The human factor has come to the forefront in the building of our present and future, the spiritual, cultural, economic and social existence of our nation. Namely, that for this building work of common interest, everyone must give the fulness of his humanity, his ethical and moral attributes, and his very best human talents. The ability of religion to educate man and the community and to produce true values in man and his environment may have a positive role in this building work. The beneficial role of religion and the church is appropriately appreciated by our social and state leadership. At the same time there is a reciprocity here in that the more we can justify with values--serving to enhance the human factor and to improve the community--the viability of our faith and religion, and our church community in the national unity that applies to everyone the more possibilities we can expect for the fuller fulfillment of the Christian mission.

It also pertains to the substance of this mutuality, however, that the policy of the church is always in organic relationship with the general policy, or we can put it this way, with the general situation in our country and society. And even more as a matter of fact, with the conditions of international life that are always in motion. We should never forget this. Above all, those should not forget who in the progress of church affairs would dictate a tempo as if our local church were hovering in a space above state and society and a geographically fixed place!

The realities and endowments which have been shaped in history and in the course of social development determine, to be sure, the planning of the local church's momentary life and its future, but these cannot restrict us from raising higher the standards for ourselves in our duties of a Christian mission. Where this is, is our affair alone and depends on us. Here we can never be satisfied, not even with the most solid results. This could be a long list, starting with the internal unity of the local church through the obligations of Christian parents for the religious life and religious instruction of the family, and all the way to the unfinished task of the ecumenical renewal.

For the recognition of these tasks and for our sincere self-accountability we now ask at the beginning of the new year and for its entire course the enlightening and helpful grace of God. His blessing is always present where there is no lack of human endeavor.

6691

CS0: 2500/186

BULANYI PAPAL REPROBATION UPHELD BY BENCH OF BISHOPS

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 1 Jan 84 p 2

[Article by K.M.: "Winter Conference of the Bench of Bishops"]

[Text] The bench of bishops held a meeting on 13-14 December at which Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, chairman, announced the appointment of Jozsef Szendi as diocese bishop and evaluated positively the October pilgrimage to Rome.

Then he presented a review of the letter, included below, written by Cardinal Casaroli, papal secretary of state, to R. Ruiz, Piarist provost.

The chairman of the Council of European Bishop Conferences addressed to the bishops' conference a letter on the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Council. The review may convince everyone that the promotion of unity is a task that is more important than any other. Next year the 88th German Catholic Day will be held in Munich to which the bench of bishops received an invitation. Discussions have reached their concluding phase to grant diocese bishops permission to hold catechism classes in the rectory building in those places where the church does not have heating facilities. The conference acknowledged with joy the report on the successful operation of the Saint Gellert retreat at Leanyfalu. In regard to the sacrament of confirmation the decision was again approved that, if possible, young people should not be allowed to take the sacrament of maturity before their 12th to 14th year, because from the viewpoint of their faith a profounder preparation is of decisive importance.

In the secretarial reports mention was made, among other things, of the following: at the International Peace Conference in Bonn on 8-10 December they announced the origin and substance of circular peace letters by certain bishops; benches.

The question of using lay faithful is becoming more and more urgent.

Moreover, the following questions arose: Laszlo Paskai, coadjutant bishop, reported on the 1983 session of the Bishops' Synod held in Rome. He also received the old plan of the bench of bishops to establish a closed organization of Catholic nurses. Discussions to realize these plans have been started.

Archbishop Jozsef Bank spoke on questions which have arisen regarding the introduction of the new Codex.

Gyula Szakos, diocese bishop, outlined current liturgical matters. He reported that the material of the people's hymn archives has been prepared in final form. Bishop Szakos' report on the status of the Charitable Gift Service spoke reassuringly of the constant progress made in this field thus far.

Jozsef Szendi, bishop of Veszprem, reported on the autumn meeting of the French bishops' conference, and Endre Kovacs, assistant bishop, spoke of the Martin Luther anniversary. The bench of bishops will put in writing a summary of the remembrance of the event. Gyorgy Poka, assistant bishop, reviewed the ecclesiastical procedural rules that were recently collected.

The Letter of Cardinal Casaroli, State Secretary, Addressed to P. Ruiz, Piarist Provost

As directed by Cardinal Lekai, primate, we publish the following:

"At its conference of December 13-14, the Hungarian Bench of Bishops dealt with the substance of the letter sent to P. Ruiz, Piarist provost, a copy of which had been sent by Cardinal Casaroli, state secretary, to the chairman of the Hungarian Bench of Bishops. In this letter the state secretary reproves the Piarist provost because he interpreted incorrectly the letter of the Holy See condemning Father Gyorgy Bulanyi and his colleagues for abuses damaging to the church, and thereby provoked problems everywhere. Father Ruiz maintained that the warning written by the state secretary at the express direction of the Holy Father was not to be taken literally because it "came about only to reassure Cardinal Lekai or the government. In fact, however, the Holy See did not wish to condemn either Bulanyi or the basic communities that he leads." The provost wished to reassure P. Bulanyi and his followers with this interpretation. However, with reference to a conversation with the Holy Father, the Vatican state secretary informed the provost of the order that the letter of reprobation written regarding the Bulanyi affair must be interpreted literally. Moreover, it is a distortion of the official creditability and dignity of the Holy See to maintain that the highest church forum is interpreting differently a matter on which it has made a decision publicly. On the basis of the Holy Father's resolute wish, Cardinal Casaroli in his letter called on Provost Ruiz to retract his earlier false interpretation and inform Gyorgy Bulanyi of this as soon as possible in a new letter. The bishops' conference regarded it as necessary to deal with the more recent developments publicly because Provost Ruiz expressed his misleading views also in an interview given to Kathpress, the Catholic news agency in Vienna."

6691

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CHANGING PROFILE OF ELECTRONIC MEDIA DISCUSSED

Budapest RADIO ES TELEVIZIO UJSAG in Hungarian 9-15 Jan, 16-22 Jan 84

[Interview with Gyorgy Csepeli, social psychologist, university docent, by Zoltan Farkas: "A Sensitive Balance"; date and place not given]

[19-15 Jan 84 p 5 Part I]

[Text] He is 37 years old, participant in several radio and television programs. For example, he participates as a specialist in the Scientists' Club, in the evenings at the Stock's Castle, and in the Generations. He studied Russian and psychology at the Lorand Eotvos College of Sciences, and spent his last college year in Moscow. His first job was at the main department of public education of the Hungarian Television. After one year, he was appointed to the sociology department of the Lorand Eotvos College of Sciences. At present he is an assistant professor.

Even today, he often works for the television. He has published several articles on mass communication, including the question, when, why, and how the "sensitive balance" between the watcher (listener) and the broadcaster can be upset.

[Question] As a specialist, do you see, do you discover any kind of a "special psychological problem" in radio and television programs? In general, do the programmers make use of the laws of communication theory?

[Answer] Without doubt. True, they apply these laws on the tube in a rather forced way. The protagonists often behave like children who did not have a "nice" upbringing but want to act as if they did, having a rigid composure, watching all of their movements, eating in a sophisticated manner.

[Question] Is this forced behavior not the result of technical circumstances?

[Answer] My impression is that communication is so unnatural when there is no personality who could make television techniques psychologically "digestible."

[Question] Does this also apply to radio broadcasts?

[Answer] Sound-wise, the radio is richer than television. And it is also richer in personalities. True, sound is more suitable for "soul-to-soul" mass communication.

[Question] I think there was only one serious public experiment in this, namely, when Vitray attempted to change the "null-null" or "nulla-nulla" [English equivalent: 'zer-zer' to 'zero-zero']. He failed. It is mostly the television's sports reporters who say zero. What was the reason for the failure?

[Answer] This experiment was indeed a model. It had to fail despite the fact that Vitray is one of television's most qualified personalities. But, in the final analysis, people can be persuaded to do only what they themselves are inclined to do, in which they have an interest, or which fulfills their needs. The mass communicator cannot do the impossible. He cannot want to prove that black is white. He cannot want to prove that 2 times 2 make 3 or 5. This presupposes responsibility. But the opposite also entails responsibility, namely, that the mass communicator cannot be overly influenced by public demand. He must lead the listener in his thinking and views on reality, etc., but must not live in a vacuum, not even if he has the temptation to do so.

[Question] Is it possible to measure or sociologically examine to what degree television and radio can lead the public? What distances may be bridged over this way?

[Answer] Not too large. Expressed in time, a 1 to 2-year lead is necessary. Possibility potentials must be seen, and it must be decided which one is desirable. Of course, it is mainly policy that is responsible for this. But mass communication should not forget that the facts should include what is desirable. It is impossible to demand and propagate something unrealistic. On the other hand, the recognition of real possibilities is in a bad economic situation, although it could be even worse. This is (another) result of the fact that the policy has begun the realization of an alternative economic policy which will, in all probability, solve our problems. And it is possible to gain public support for this. The modernization of our economic life, and the improvement of the quality of our lives, is a program in which everyone can find his own tasks and which can be translated to everyone's language.

[Question] Is this not only a possibility in principle? For today's Hungarian society is extremely diverse. There are groups, economic (and not only economic) associations, cooperatives, leagues, syndicates, and societies whose well-defined interests may come into conflict with one another--all of us know this from the seminars, don't we. But are these interests, and conflicts of interests, fully formulated even in mass communication?

[Answer] Indeed, the rehabilitation of interests was completed in the last 10-15 years. In production, we are giving ever larger roles to groups which act not only mechanically, following orders, but which, for example, will also consider marketing. Mass communication does not really reflect the extreme diversity of today's society. This includes both the press and television. In fact, television is full of programs that are expressly and consciously

addressed to everyone. Such programs are the news, You Asked For It, and the Cabaret. It is evident that these general programs presuppose a homogeneous society that does not exist, one in which the only common factor is that we are all Hungarian citizens, building socialism. This phantom community, according to postulations, "must eat everything" from the Delta to the Capricious Seasons.... Perhaps the radio was more successful in adapting to the new circumstances. True, it has a much longer broadcasting time. The radio has specifically stratified programs. But even today, these programs are still attempting to address too large a portion of the population. On the other hand, many are excluded, without having any possibilities either as listeners or participants. It should be examined through a thorough sociological analysis, what strata and groups of society may have demands from this viewpoint, and what they are. It would be very important, for example, to make a much better use of local radio stations in order to serve local interests.

[Question] When can mass communication be considered successful from the aspect of social psychology?

[Answer] When it elicits the feeling that we live a conscious life. Of course, it does not hurt either if it informs and entertains and it does this well. But the most important thing is that it should encourage a conscious living and show the necessity of foresight. This consciousness presupposes the existence of a certain picture of reality. This is not photography, much rather a spacial picture. It must contain the elements of the reality-to-be-made from which everyone can select the one deemed necessary and important. If such a picture of reality is not part of mass communication, or if the picture is false, then come the disappointments. This is the time when it is no use for the radio to deny--either seriously or in a cabaret--the forecast of an earthquake. It is no use for it to deny that Mount Gellert walked over to the Square of Heroes. When some people believe the opposite of the denial--or not even that--we know that something is wrong.

[16-22 Jan 84 p 5 Part II]

[Text] He wrote several thorough studies on mass communication. A few were written at the request of the radio. One of these is about convincing. He emphasizes that it is very significant in the psychology of convincing how the watcher or listener judges the source and to what degree he accepts it as authentic.

[Question] How can radio and television, as a source, remain authentic in the midst of rapid social changes?

[Answer] I think this is the most important question in our domestic policy, namely, publicity. For it is clear that the "publicity model," that was adequate in the 1950's and that consisted not so much of providing facts and information but much rather directives centering more on the future rather than on the present, is inapplicable today. The concept that there is a central director whose magic beat will result in building our dream castle has failed. Today we need 10 million directors in our country. In other words, we need

independence, independent activity, or using a foreign word, we need greater autonomy. This autonomy would mean a better use of our creative forces.

[Question] No doubt everyone has a certain "autonomy," also as a radio listener or television viewer. Everyone can turn off the set if he wants to....

[Answer] This is true. Today a new model is being created. A partnership is beginning to develop between the receiver and the institutions of mass communication on the one hand, and between the institutions of mass communication and the political leaders on the other hand. This is becoming apparent. Mass communication is no longer a humble servant of politics but, as a result of the partnership, much rather a transmitter. Not only from above to below but also from below to above. In addition, it can--or could--play an important role in the information flow between the various strata and groups of the public. This new model is, of course, at its beginning stage. But the old model has become totally useless. There is a characteristic vacuum, and this is very much felt by the press....

[Question] ...and the public which no doubt notices the change and the accompanying insecurity.

[Answer] Let us look at the public behavior. In its hesitation, it turns to mass communication. If the cleaner does not clean his plants, if the authorities do not resolve his case, he comes to the radio and television for help. This is how he wants to deal with his every-day anxieties. This way a part of the public sees the radio and television also as a kind of authority, only a better and a more just authority than the others. This role of "king Matthias" is, of course, false. For mass communication has other things to do: to inform and to evaluate. But, society is lacking quite a few services. There are numerous needs that are not dealt with by authorities and institutions. These include the need for information.

[Question] No one deals with this either? Is this not what the television and radio do?

[Answer] Not enough. We are living today in a rather atomized society: the old communal forms have broken down, the family has lost its character-building role. The values and norms of esthetics, sexual life, etc., have become insecure from many points of view. People have a new need now to learn what is good, what is nice, what is true. They expect to get these answers from radio and television. They expect certain services from these, e.g., services related to legal services, mental hygiene, instruction in the school and so forth.

[Question] My impression is that all of these are not only public needs but they also logically follow from the recent past of radio and television. For mass communication always accepted the role of the public educator. You don't think that this tradition has been reversed today, do you?

[Answer] It is not incidental that this is a tradition. For Hungarian society was rather centralized during the Horthy era. The lack of all of those

institutions that are characteristically missing today was present earlier as well. At that time no "middle class" system of publicity has been developed in which individuals and groups communicate their own efforts and make them accepted. It is thus my conviction that not much of this will happen in the future either. So much the less as the forms of material life have gone through an irrevocable change. Society was unable to tolerate for long the rigid, over-ideologized picture of socialism that was full of utopistic elements. Through everyday efforts, it achieved the change that at the end lead to the revival of thought and ideological views.

[Question] No doubt, convincing also depends on the degree to which we accept the informer as one of us. The importance of this sense of similarity was demonstrated by one of Gyorgy Csepeli's studies. Is the awakening of this sense unavoidable in mass communication?

[Answer] Yes. Beyond the requirement that the informer be a personality, be attractive, be special, etc., etc., this is indeed the most important thing. What he says I will believe if I feel that he is my man, almost a relative. He can express and formulate what I find hard to express. Such an--almost poetic--role is also waiting for mass communication. Convincing really needs a poetic production. It is another question that there are, of course, other questions that involve the existence of the entire society, representing existential interests. But, within the basic identity, it is variety that makes the identity really meaningful and rich. Mass communication must reckon more and more with this.

9414

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MICROBIOLOGIST DISCUSSES BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Nov 83 p 4

[Interview with Prof Janusz Jeljaszewicz, microbiologist and chairman of the Scientific Council in the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, by Regina Dabrowska: "The Biological Weapon"]

[Text] We spoke with Prof Janusz Jeljaszewicz, microbiologist and chairman of the Scientific Council in the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, about the threat of biological warfare and the effects the people would bear as a result of it.

[Question] Professor, modern advances in science make possible, for example, genetic engineering, or interference with microbes, particularly bacteria, by human will, in the sense that it is possible to obtain synthetic genes which produce what we have planned after being introduced into harmless microbes. Can all of these achievements not be turned against us? Does the threat of biological warfare exist within the range of human capabilities?

[Answer] Up to now biological warfare has functioned as a concept, since except for the partial use of this weapon by the Japanese at the end of the last war humanity has fortunately had nothing to do with it. However, in examining the subject from the theoretical standpoint, it should be stressed that such a possibility does unfortunately exist. This is connected with the development of modern technology which, used in microbiology, biochemistry or genetics, permits the production of enormous amounts of microbes, bacteria or viruses. They can be successfully reproduced to obtain, e.g., lethal toxins for man and beast, instead of antibiotics.

[Question] What microbes or products from them could be theoretically used in such a war?

[Answer] They could be microbes which do not currently cause diseases because of mass inoculations as a result of medical progress, but which, disseminated or transmitted in large quantities, can become a threat, particularly in connection with military operations. They may also be microbes not existent at present, but given features against which man is helpless, because unfortunately man is capable of producing bacteria to which he is not resistant. In addition, it is possible to produce large quantities of toxic substances produced by bacteria. People generally do not realize that the

so-called toxins are many times stronger, involving lethal activity, than all known poisons, including industrial potassium cyanide. For example, botulism toxin which is resistant to boiling and is not even digested in the alimentary tract, operates even in trace quantities. It is absolutely possible to spread it through the digestive tract by means of water.

[Question] These are examples of the dismal possibilities which man already has available and, if he were to apply himself to this type of activity, this list could be expanded. What are the possibilities of an epidemic being caused intentionally?

[Answer] In every type of military operation it is necessary to count on the possibility of an epidemic. For example, the results of an atomic explosion would cause a collapse of organic resistance in people and, in the natural environment, would cause ecological disruptions leading to excessive reproduction of insects which would be disease vectors. Epidemics can be caused deliberately by pulverizing insects infected, for example, with plague or yellow fever. These are dreadful illnesses, which can indeed be treated at the present time, but which unfortunately can be imagined as epidemics under conditions of gigantic proportions and with the assumption of considerable disorganization of everything, including the health services.

[Question] Then what are possible countermeasures?

[Answer] In addition to activities of a pacifist nature, which should be taking the lead, the efforts to prohibit the use of biological weapons, we must be prepared for such an eventuality, thoroughly train the health service personnel, and prepare a stock of suitable medicines, and it is particularly important to organize activities properly, because every contemporary war brings about tremendous disruptions in the lives of nations.

[Question] To conclude our theoretical reflections, since right now the achievements of the medical and biological sciences are used for man and not against him, what do you think about a possible biological war?

[Answer] As a microbiologist I look with horror on such an eventuality, and I think that any ethical microbiologist should refuse to work on such weapons, but should participate in all preventive activities, because anything is possible in this world.

6806

CSO: 2600/499

TOP ADMINISTRATOR DISCUSSES ELECTIONS

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 4, 22 Jan 84 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Zdzislaw Tomal, deputy chairman of the Council of State, by Henryk Wandowski; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] In mid-January, the period of consultation with society upon the "Assumptions for the Draft of the Electoral Law for People's Councils" came to an end. Why is the discussion on a document of such importance ending after such a short time?

[Answer] The electoral law, a document of great political importance, by virtue of its character must take into consideration political objectives and realities. It must develop the democratic character of the electoral system and foster the strengthening of the socialist state and its organs of authority. It is no simple matter to find optimal solutions in such a complex socio-political situation. The progress that has been achieved in political stabilization has led to a decision on the issue of elections to people's councils and to the formulation of a concept of the electoral law.

[Question] Why did the consultation upon the new draft last only to mid-January?

[Answer] As is known, the term for people's councils ends on 23 March 1984. The Council of State must hold elections not later than a month before, i.e., by 23 February 1984. Thus, the complexity of the political situation, on the one hand, and the date of expiration of the terms for people's councils on the other have imposed relatively a short period for the preparation of the "Assumptions..." and for consulting upon them with society, as well as for the preparation by the Council of State--on the basis of consultation results--of a draft electoral law for people's councils, the presentation of the law to the Marshal and its examination and passing by the Sejm. With such a tight schedule, the month's period of consultation is the maximal allowable period.

[Question] Before moving on to the draft of the electoral law, let us turn to the law on people's councils passed by the Sejm in July 1983. Both of these documents should be treated together. For some reason, this has not been perceived in discussions held until now upon the draft electoral law. Mr Chairman, how would you characterize the most important tenets of the law?

[Answer] The July law on the system of the people's councils and the territorial self-government raises the self-government of the residents of cities and villages to the level of a universal element of a qualitatively new territorial self-government. The position of people's councils in the system of state authority is becoming greatly strengthened. The new law increases their autonomy, the scope of their rights and the dimensions of their methods of operation. The superior status of people's councils as representative organs of the state authority toward the local organs of the state administration has been restored. At the same time, the law places greater responsibility upon people's councils and their officials for the shape and the implementation of state policy within a given region, for meeting the needs of the people and for territorial development.

[Question] What may be said about the relationship between the two documents--the law on people's councils and the draft electoral law?

[Answer] There is no question but what the law on the system of people's councils and the territorial self-government has impacted indirectly upon the content of the electoral law that must take into account systems-type changes in the position, the role, the rights, the tasks and the responsibility of people's councils. The position and responsibilities of councilmen--the scope and responsibility of their mandate--increase along with the position of people's councils. As it were, it imposes criteria that councilmen must fulfill and that are outlined most clearly in the oath they take.

[Question] These are stiff requirements that we shall discuss in detail presently, since a consideration of the candidacy of the people that we would like to see as our representatives on the councils requires our weighing of what we expect from this, what criteria they ought to fulfill. At this time, however, I would like to move to another issue: regulations. The regulations adopted in the law on people's councils and the territorial self-government and those proposed in the electoral law, despite all sorts of reservations and criticism, about which we cannot forget, represent progress in the process of socialist democracy and self-government. They are a concretization of the Ninth Party Congress resolution in this area. Without losing sight of the truth that, in the final analysis, everything depends upon the people and the situation, to what degree are the regulations adopted in the law and proposed in the draft electoral law an effective mechanism for strengthening the state and making its structures more democratic?

[Answer] The provisions of the July law that I have described here in brief cannot be examined in isolation as a document in and of itself. Its significance becomes fully comprehensible if we view it as a law that realizes the program of socialist renewal. Its provisions will be implemented under conditions of the economic reform. The people's council will operate by making use of legal and economic instruments. Under the rules of this law, the people's council as the local authority must turn its major attention toward economizing, it must be concerned over the increase in budgetary revenues, manage thriftily the funds it possesses and be concerned over the designating of surpluses toward meeting additional needs. It will have to be decided what needs are priority needs. The people's councils have obtained the indispensable rights

to take such action. The law in this area of their powers grants them the exclusive right to make decisions. At the same time, it obliges the Council of State to supervise in order to ensure that all legal regulations comply with the provisions of this law and that the autonomy and self-government of people's councils are respected by the other state organs. The people's councils and their organs thus should become an efficiently operating state authority locally. This will foster the strengthening of the state and the democratization of its structures. I would like to make one more point regarding the important element of strengthening the socialist democracy. Namely, the law creates a new type of territorial self-government that is proper to the socialist system. It combines elements of representative democracy, as the people's councils, with elements of direct democracy, expressed through the self-government of the residents of cities and villages. The mutual interaction in this self-government is very strong. The councilman represents his constituents, and these constituents in rural areas and hamlets create a self-government of residents. Thus, the councilman also becomes its representative on the council. Moreover, the chairmen of the organs of the residents' self-government--the hamlet committee and the mayor's council--if they are not councilmen, have the right to participate in sessions of the people's council as advisers. This makes the influence of the people's self-government upon the decisions of the people's council direct. At the same time, it enables the decisions of the people's council to be transmitted quickly to the self-government of the residents of villages and cities. In this way, they will implement them for the common good and in the common interest. People, thousands of councilmen, the active members of the residents' self-government and the employees of the state administration will determine whether all of the possibilities that are created by the law are perceived and utilized.

[Question] Then let us discuss these people, or more precisely, the mechanism for nominating candidates for councilmen and the election of councilmen. This relates to still another more general question, namely the nature of elections in our system. Here it must be said that a part of public opinion--while it may not be a significant part--has received the draft electoral law with some disenchantment, and sometimes even with disillusionment. This has very complex political and psychological origins. Some citizens, in completely good faith, some--let us say elegantly, prompted by the assessments made by Polish-language Western broadcasts, say: 30 percent of the members of people's councils do not belong to the party, 70 percent of society does not belong to the party. Then why are these councils not 70 percent non-party? Is this democracy?, asks Radio Free Europe. Obviously, this kind of thinking is not democratic but demagogic. Were we to ask those struggling hard for "real" democracy along the Wisla in the Western mass media: Gentlemen, what is the state of this kind of democracy in your country?--they would be in trouble. There only the parties propose candidates for representative bodies. Sometimes it does happen that an "independent" is nominated there that does not belong to any party but has a special kind of authority. However, these isolated cases change absolutely nothing in the structure of the forces of Western parliamentary democracies that is determined by the parties. But they try to stir us up with "pure" democracy that is pure fiction among them. This is essentially how things are, and the Poles allow themselves to be taken in by it.

[Answer] You have brought up very important problems. People's councils are the representative organs of state authority in the state that has a socialist system, in the worker-peasant state, in which the working-class party performs a leadership role. How could this party really perform this role if it were deprived of the real potential for this? But this is the matter of concern for the spokesmen of "pure" democracy that you have called correctly a pure fiction. The people's councils, as representative organs of the state authority, must be a reflection of the class structure of society. They ought to be composed of the proper number of workers, peasants and the working intelligentsia, and this should also be taken into account in the electoral law. Thus, this problem must be noted and solved throughout the system of nominating candidates for councilmen. There are also those that say: why do we have so many workers and peasants on the councils? Would they not function more effectively if the majority were white-collar workers, intelligentsia? Western propaganda also makes such suggestions. Let us consider for a moment: white-collar workers--for the most part, the employees of those offices and institutions whose activity the people's councils are to control. Thanks very much for this kind of local parliament. Perhaps this works very well everywhere else, but it does not apply to the self-governing organs in the socialist system. Moreover, these critics ought to remember that our authority does not have the nature of a coalition. We elect the members of the PZPR, the ZSL [United Peasant Party] and the SD [Democratic Party] to its organs, but we also elect the members of the three Christian unions and non-party members that belong to unaffiliated unions or associations. For the sake of information, it should also be added that according to the present make-up of the people's councils at all levels, non-party councilmen compose 31.3 percent of the membership of people's councils.

[Question] The draft electoral law includes a number of innovations that increase the subjective role of the citizen--this is basically unquestionable. On the other hand, sometimes one hears that in this area, it is less effective than was expected, than was indicated by the aspirations of society that were expressed so clearly in 1980/1981. In particular, the subject of concern is the voting act itself, that in the opinion of these critics still is more of a plebiscite than an election in the draft of the "Assumptions...."

[Answer] I understand that by the idea "more of a plebiscite," you mean above all a broadly understood system of consulting upon a candidate. If this is so, I personally believe that to ensure such a fundamental, real impact by voters upon the shape taken by the list of candidates is the most obvious act that democratizes the electoral law and the entire electoral system. This means that the candidates will be nominated not within the privacy of an office, but with the participation of all of the voters within a particular electoral district. Thus, the voter's basic subjectivity in the form of his influence upon the shape of the list grants this list quite strong social foundations. But the mere compilation of the list and the nomination of candidates is still in no way an act that seals the question. In the electoral act itself, the voter is able to make his personal choice and cross out candidates that, in his opinion, do not give guarantees of good work in the people's council. In a word, the voter may share the motives that guided the body in recommending a specific order, or he may not share these motives and

may select those of the candidates that he favors the most. Thus, he has the right to make a real choice of those candidates on the list that he considers the best.

[Question] Let us move on to some specifics, especially those issues that are not explained very clearly in the draft electoral law. What is new in the definition of the functions and tasks of the people's councils and the territorial self-government at the primary level, and in what ways do the functions of the people's councils at the primary level differ from the functions of the people's councils at the voivodship level as coordinating bodies in some sense, from the viewpoint of the proposed law?

[Answer] The law transfers the bulk of powers to the people's councils at the primary level. When a question arises on an issue, the law ordains that the decision is made by the primary level council. On the other hand, the voivodship people's councils have authority over those fields whose scope exceeds the area of the gmina [parish] or town, that should be directed upon a broader, voivodship scale. The voivodship people's councils likewise oversee the primary level councils.

[Question] I asked this question, hoping that it would give me an answer to the principle adopted in the draft electoral law that concerns the options on elections to the voivodship level people's councils. The draft law allows public opinion to decide whether it wants direct or indirect elections. The latter variant engenders various kinds of doubts. These include the concern that indirect elections to the WRN [Voivodship People's Council]--according to which 80 to 90 percent of the voivodship councilmen would be nominated from among primary level councilmen--might make voivodship councils too dependent upon primary councils, whose local interests will be expressed more effectively in the WRN forum.

[Answer] Each of the variants submitted for consultation has its pluses and minuses. The first variant preserves the previous principle of the direct election of WRN councilmen by voters and does not introduce any changes into current practice. I do not think there is any need to justify it further. The second variant envisages a departure from past practice and introduces the principles of indirect elections to the WRN. WRN councilmen would be elected by primary level councils, of which 80 to 90 percent would be chosen from among councilmen from their own councils and 10 to 20 percent would be chosen from among candidates on the "voivodship" list. What are the advantages of this variant? The WRN's, because of their make-up, would be more self-governing in nature. The ties between WRN councilmen and primary level councilmen would be stronger and mutual interaction would be strengthened. Meanwhile, among the minuses must be included the isolation of the WRN councilmen from constituents and the potential danger of parochialism. I must say that in the discussion thus far, each of the variants has its proponents and opponents. Let us await the full results of the consultation that will show which of the variants is supported by the majority.

[Question] Among the regulations proposed by the draft electoral law, two issues unquestionably are the most important: changes in the elections

procedure and the method of nominating candidates for councilmen. According to the assumptions of the draft electoral law, electoral colleges that are linked organically with the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] are to be the institutions for nominating candidates for councilmen. How are the roles of FJN [National Unity Front] and PRON different here?

[Answer] There are several differences. They emanate from the difference in the program and organizational foundations of PRON compared with FJN and likewise from the sociopolitical changes made in our country, from the process of socialist renewal. According to current electoral law, FJN committees are the direct organizers of the electoral campaign. Political and social organizations have announced their candidates to FJN committees. They have also been authorized to draw up electoral lists and register them with electoral commissions. In the "Assumptions..." it is proposed that the functions of organizing the electoral campaign and of organizing the process of nominating candidates for councilmen be separated. PRON elements would organize the electoral campaign. Consultations upon candidates will be conducted under their patronage. The PRON National Council would be expected to issue an electoral statement. On the other hand, the electoral colleges, appointed only for the election period by the signers of the PRON Declaration, would organize the system of appointing candidates. The system of nominating candidates according to the "old" electoral law is also of a different kind--FJN committees set up lists of candidates on the basis of the recommendations of political and social organizations. The list was set up after the opinions of constituents had been surveyed. The "Assumptions..." on the other hand, stipulate that the announced candidates are to be consulted upon extensively at village, hamlet and plant meetings. The electoral list may include only those candidates that have won the support of the voters during consultations. Thus, this is significant progress in the democratization of the electoral system. Its essence lies in its guaranteeing voters influence upon the nomination of candidates. This is a key problem of the entire electoral system.

[Question] A second, or even the first problem, is the way of nominating candidates for councilmen. The right of nominating candidates belongs to the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD as well as to the Christian associations--PAX, the ChSS [Christian Social Association] and the PZKS [Polish Catholic-Social Union], as signers of the PRON Declaration, and likewise to the organizations taking part in PRON. This is provided for in the draft electoral law. The draft law also stipulates that the electoral colleges may nominate candidates for people's councils upon their own initiative. How do the draft writers envisage this process from the organizational viewpoint, since the essence of this issue seems to reside in this sphere?

[Answer] Let us add that the right of nominating candidates likewise belongs to trade unions, sociovocational organizations of farmers, the members of ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy], socialist youth unions and the League of Polish Women. The political and social organizations listed in the "Assumptions..." have the right to announce candidates for councilmen to the appropriate local electoral colleges. On the basis of such announcements, the college draws up a joint list of candidates. It may likewise include in the list candidates nominated upon its own initiative. It is to be expected

that the number of candidates nominated will exceed considerably the number of mandates within a given electoral district. Now a very important stage in the electoral campaign is taking place--namely consultation at village meetings, in hamlets and at plants. The consultation will show which of the candidates enjoy the greatest support. Thus, at the consultative meetings, the candidates that do not have enough support will drop off and new candidates may be nominated. Based upon the results of the consultation and a complete report on which candidates have the support of voters, the college will draw up a list of candidates and will register it with the appropriate local electoral commission.

[Question] What is new in this system?

[Answer] Above all, the scope of consultation. Such broad consultation did not exist in previous campaigns. Allow me to note again the statement made in the "Assumptions..." that says that the college may include on the list of candidates submitted to the electoral commission only those candidates that have gained the support of their constituents within the course of consultation. This is a fundamental aspect of electoral democracy: namely, guaranteeing the influence of voters upon the nomination of candidates.

[Question] It is said (and therein lies the cause for concern) that the residents' self-governments are the basic element of the people's councils. The draft electoral law somehow ignores them, especially with regard to the nomination of candidates. But it is at this level that one knows people best, that one gets the most faithful picture of the basic milieu of a candidate. The formula "other mass organizations" should probably be replaced by another formula that specifies the residents' self-government.

[Answer] This is a controversial question. The residents' self-government is made up of all the residents of a given village or hamlet. Thus, all of the candidates that are nominated by political parties or by particular social organizations essentially emanate from among the residents of particular towns and villages. They likewise will be members of the self-government of their own hamlets and villages. Thus, the self-governments are ignored only ostensibly. Please note that this self-government will become the base of general consultation upon candidates.

[Question] One more situation for which I see no place in the draft electoral law is the following: candidates for councilmen are nominated by political parties and the various organizations and associations. Thus, they will be the candidates/members of those political and social organizations. Consequently, we must consider those political activists that do not belong to any political and social organizations. Does the future electoral law reserve a place for them on people's councils?

[Answer] If we agree that a candidate for councilman ought to be characterized by active participation in public affairs, it is difficult to imagine that he could gain the respect of his community without being committed socially to one organization or another. But if this were the case and such candidates were valuable and could give evidence that they would fulfill the mandate of councilman effectively, I am sure that they would be considered by the electoral colleges.

[Question] We are carrying on this interview before consultations have concluded...

[Answer] A number of remarks, opinions and proposals have already come in and more come in each day. The principle of a broad and thorough consultation upon candidates has been received favorably. In numerous letters, it is pointed out that consultative meetings should be prepared well. However, there are also individual opinions that express concern that these meetings may turn into "mini-Sejms." The writers of these letters suggest that the consultations move into the PRON forum. Thus far, opinions are clearly divided regarding the order of names on the electoral ballot: some are in favor of the principle of references, while others prefer alphabetical order. Opinions are also divided regarding direct or indirect elections to WRN's. In a number of letters, it is proposed that single-mandate districts and two candidates on the ballot be introduced. Some propose the appropriate "apportionment" of districts in order to obtain the desired structure of people's councils in terms of the representation of political parties, social organizations and the share of workers, peasants and the particular communities of the intelligentsia. The right of the residents' self-government to nominate candidates is also brought up. As I have said, there are other suggestions, remarks and proposals. It is still difficult today to determine unequivocally which shape of the electoral law the participants in the consultation support. This is especially so since, with regard to many specific provisions of the draft electoral law, opinions are very diverse.

[Interviewer] Mr Chairman, thank you for the interview.

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CATHOLIC WEEKLY REPORTS MAIN EVENTS OF PAST YEAR

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[Article by Maciej M. Letowski: "Poland 1983"]

[Text] At the turn of the year we look back, asking ourselves about the way this year has turned out and the things it has brought to us, our families and our country. What has happened in Poland in 1983? Let us recall some facts and names. This is not going to be a day-by-day record, but rather a review of events retained by my (our?) memory.

January

We bid farewell to 1982 with no regrets. Those wishing to take part in new year celebrations were not too numerous. The environment for carefree partying was lacking. However, we also hoped that the New Year would be better and that many conflicts, anxieties and worries would be put to rest.

The suspension of the state of martial law (on the night of 30 and 31 December 1982) gave rise to our hopes. This brought us closer to the complete lifting of the state of marital law, which had had a profound impact on the psyche of the nation.

The days of January were etched in our memory as the first days without the censorship of mail and telephone conversations, without limitations on freedom of movement inside the country and of organizing meetings of social organizations. The last internees returned to their homes. As was communicated in the press, the right to strike and to undertake protest actions along the guidelines outlined by the trade union law was reinstated. Workers' self-government could resume its activity.

According to the OBOP [Center for Public Opinion Research] polls, 56 percent of the populace approved of the suspension of the state of martial law, whereas 28 percent thought that it should be lifted completely.

In early January, the Holy Father announced the forthcoming elevation of Jozef Glemp, the primate of Poland, to the status of cardinal. Understandably, all of us rejoiced and were satisfied.

In January, we still did not know for how long the Holy Father would sojourn among us and which localities he would visit. On 18 January, a communique on the meeting of the Joint Commission of the Representatives of the Government and the Episcopate was published. The meeting only "reviewed" the state of preparations for the June visit of Pope John Paul II.

In public affairs, the Sejm session dedicated to the foreign policy of Poland (31 January-1 February) and a joint session of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee were noteworthy.

Statements of similar content began to appear every few days in the press: Solidarity Activists Come Out of Hiding...turned himself in at the Provincial Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia in... Upon providing explanations, he was released."

Piotr Karpiuk, chairman of the Committee for Managing the Assets of Trade Unions, said in an interview for RZECZPOSPOLITA (in the 21 January issue): "The assets of Solidarity will be transferred to their legitimate owners. The law on trade unions has recognized the newly created unions to be such owners. This will be accomplished by a decree of the Council of Ministers..."

On the last day of January, we learned about the dissolution of the Krakow Kuznica Club led by Tadeusz Holuj.

Here are several characteristic titles: Managers on Trade Unions: The Pressure Will Be Useful...; Social Support for the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] on the Increase; No Ration Cards for Citrus Fruit in February; Where Do High Salaries Come From?

February

The GUS [Main Statistical Office] communique on the socioeconomic situation in our country in 1982 was published. Distributed national income declined by about 12 percent. Consumption of material goods went down by about 15 percent.

The Provisional National Council of the PRON released draft documents for a pre-congress debate. Among other things, the PRON declaration points up the following sources of crisis: contradiction between the growing aspirations of the working people to participate in public affairs and influence the exercise of power and the centralized bureaucratic methods of such exercise; also, the contradiction between socialist principles of civil equality and restrictions on participation and advancement in public life of non-party citizens, including religious believers.

The 190th Plenary Conference of the Episcopate of Poland was held on 23 and 24 January. The bishops reviewed the current state of preparations for the second pilgrimage of the Holy Father to our common motherland. "The Polish people attach high hopes to this pilgrimage, which has been expected for many months. Our people also count on resolving at least some of the acute social problems of our country before that time." The bishops included on the

list of such problems the amnesty, national reconciliation, redress of grievances, freedom of trade unions, appropriate working conditions and freedom of association for the artistic community.

The so-called "Urban affair" broke out in February. J. Urban published a column in TU I TERAZ. In this column, he offended the figure of Father Maksymilian Kolbe, which is so dear to the Poles. Seventeen Sejm deputies, including the PZKS [Polish Catholic-Social Union] deputies, lodged an interpellation with the prime minister. They asked if J. Urban could continue discharging the responsibilities of the government spokesman after that episode. The Press Bureau of the Episcopate also responded, expressing vehement protest in a special statement. The PZKS sent a letter with similar content to the prime minister. Despite a subsequent interpellation by Deputy E. Osmanczyk in this matter, the results of these protests essentially boiled down to J. Urban assuming the pen name Jan Rem and to deputy prime minister M. Rakowski expressing regret in response to the interpellation and the PZKS letter.

As PAP [Polish Press Agency] reported, attempts to disrupt public order occurred on 17 February in Krakow, on the second anniversary of the registration of the NZS [Independent Association of Students] and on 27 February in Warsaw around the church dedicated to Saint Stanislaw Kostka in Zoliborz. As the communique stated, "this is yet another occasion on which religious celebrations are used to cause a disruption of public order." On 17 February, organizers of Radio Solidarity were sentenced (Zbigniew Romaszewski to 4.5 years in prison). Charges against several activists of the KPN [Confederacy for an Independent Poland] (Z. Golawski, J. Sychut, K. Bzdyl) were dropped.

In the press, one could read the following headlines: Detergents and Soap Are Around--But Not the Lines; Deeds Match Words; There Will Be No Exchange of Currency; Over 5,600 Trade Unions Have Been Registered; The Blue Bug Is Not Harmful.

March

Finally, the situation with the pilgrimage of John Paul II to Poland was cleared. In this matter, the meeting of the primate of Poland, Jozef Glemp, with Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski (9 March) was of vital importance. It was stated that "the visit must facilitate favorable development in the issues most important for the state and the people--national reconciliation and normalization of life in the country..." The situation in the country was also discussed at the meeting. "Progress in the direction of stabilization in social life has been recognized. Common concern with reinforcing these tendencies has been expressed."

In March, Archbishop Luigi Poggi sojourned in Poland. On 17 March he met with Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski. On 19 March, a communique of the Press Bureau of the Episcopate on a reiterated invitation to the Holy Father to visit Poland was published. In this communique, the route of his pilgrimage was released for the first time.

The official invitation signed by the chairman of the Council of State, Henryk Jablonski, was published.

In late March, a Sejm session dedicated to the state of security and public order and the socioeconomic plan for 1983-1985 was held (22 and 23 March).

Minister of Justice Sylwester Zawadzki, responding to the call for amnesty, stated that "the implementation of this call does not depend exclusively on the authorities, because progress in restoring social peace must take place." Mieczyslaw Moczar was recalled from his post of NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] chairman; Gen Tadeusz Hupalowski was nominated to that post. A change also occurred in the Ministry of Agriculture. Stanislaw Zieba succeeded Jerzy Wojtecki. The recall of the latter ran into opposition by as many as 69 deputies, with 81 abstentions (including the circle of PZKS deputies).

Illegal demonstrations took part in Wroclaw on 8 March and in Gdansk, Warsaw, Wroclaw and Kalisz on 13 March. The trial of Anna Walentynowicz ended in sentencing. She was sentenced to 1 year and 3 months in prison, suspended, for organizing a protest action in the Gdansk Shipyard against martial law.

At a press conference, J. Urban stated that about 200,000 party members are among the 1,250,000 members of new trade unions.

Headlines from the press: Extra Half Kilo of Sugar for the Holidays; Cropdusting Plane Hijacked to Sweden; Regional Council of ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] Girls.

April

In late April a Sejm session was held which passed the draft of the 3-year plan for 1983-1985. Deputy Zbigniew Zielinski (circle of PZKS) stated that "The draft of the 3-year plan which is under discussion now is of necessity below the aspirations of the people, below their justified needs and expectations." In the opinion of Deputy Z. Zielinski, "releasing social initiative and outlining interesting prospects on the scale of the society as a whole as well as on the scale determining the situation of individuals" is a prerequisite for carrying out this minimal plan.

In April, the 40th anniversary of the uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto was celebrated.

The statement of the Garrison Military Prosecutor's Office in Wroclaw on the results of investigation into the events of 31 August 1982 in Lubin was published. On that date, three persons lost their lives. "Materials of the investigation indicated that the functionaries of the security forces acted within the limits of necessary self-defense in using firearms. Due to this, the investigation was dropped."

Tensions ran higher in the last days of the month. In conjunction with this, Deputy Prime Minister M.F. Rakowski met with the representatives of the Lenin Iron and Steel Works (24 April) in order to present to them the situation

which developed in Poland before 1 May. "I tried to explain the reasons for which we are delivering barrage fire. It is up to you...to make conclusions."

The meeting between Lech Walesa and the underground TKK [Provisional Coordinating Commission] of Solidarity became the subject of a scathing attack by "Oberver" in RZECZPOSPOLITA (19 April): "The call for confrontation on 1 May issued by the underground is unambiguous proof that the opposition strives to disrupt internal peace (...). This time, the only purpose is for world public opinion to demand that the Vatican reconsider the feasibility of a papal trip to our country..." According to a PAP communique, Lech Walesa, when interrogated by the MO [Citizens' Militia], "did not confirm the fact of a meeting with the illegal so-called TKK of the former NSZZ Solidarity."

May

According to official information, 7 million persons took part in the May Day processions. In about 20 localities counterdemonstrations took place.

According to tradition, a plenary conference of the episcopate was held in Jasna Gora on 3 and 4 May. "The expected pilgrimage now becomes the pilgrimage of national hope. In the spirit of this hope we should expect the lifting of martial law and the reinstatement of full civil liberties. The visit of the Holy Father requires that the comprehensive feeling of responsibility for the common good reinforced with the intent to lead the country out of the multifaceted crisis in the name of its internal peace and its proper position in the world." On 18 May, a detailed program of the visit by John Paul II was released.

The first congress of the PRON was held (7 through 9 May). Jan Dobraczynski became the chairman. The declaration of principles, directions and methods of activity and statutory foundations were adopted. "The movement strives to strengthen the Polish state. We think that this should be accomplished via the improvement of democratic institutions and the enhancement of civil awareness." The PRON postulates "changes in the election law and mechanisms which would provide the citizens with an opportunity for an authentic choice of its representatives from among several candidates," the introduction of referenda, rapid adoption of the law on the Constitutional Tribunal, setting up an Office of the Guardian of Civil Rights in the Sejm, widening the scope of responsibilities of the Main Administrative Court and a reform of the penal code. In future elections, the PRON does not want to carry out "the functions of a front."

A PZPR Central Committee plenum adopted the report of H. Kubiak's commission on the causes and development of social conflicts in the history of the People's Republic of Poland and recommended that it be published in a special issue of NOWE DROGI. The correctness of the line of the Ninth Congress, the line of struggle, understanding and reform, was also confirmed.

The May session of the Sejm took up agricultural affairs.

Information on the tragic death of Grzegorz Przemyk, the 19-year old graduate of the Rejtan high school shook many of us. The PRON presidium reviewed the suggestions of the activists of the movement aimed at finding out all the circumstances of the tragic death of G. Przemyk and approached the prosecutor general and the minister of the interior in this matter. Thousands of young people attended the funeral of G. Przemyk in Warsaw at the Powazki Cemetery.

The search was on for issue 19 of NOVOYE VREMJA with the article by Andrej Ryzhov criticising POLITYKA. In that same POLITYKA, an embarrassing column appeared written by D. Passent and entitled "The New Osmanczyk."

Headlines from the press: Sparrow Appointed Eagle...(Jerzy Lobman); Actors Support Initiative of Organizing New Association; 32 Degrees in the Shade; Onslaught of the Potato Bug.

June

The Holy Father, the Apostle of Christ, the Pope, our fellow countryman was with us.

"Peace be unto you, Poland, my motherland!" said he on the first day. "The people...have a calling for victory, victory by the force of truth, freedom and justice," said he shortly before his departure. We were with him at every stage of his pilgrim's ministrations. He comforted us, wiped away our tears, raised our hopes, led us to God. He left, yet he remained. We are different now and so is Poland, despite the difficulties and the drama.

I will not provide a day-by-day record of the Holy Father's pilgrimage. My colleagues will do it elsewhere. Also, I will not write about the political inner history of this pilgrimage. Time has obscured it in our memory.

Two events preceded these joyous days, namely, the visit by the secretary of the church's Council for Public Affairs, Archbishop Achille Silverstrini (30 May-1 June), and a meeting between the primate of Poland, Jozef Glemp, and Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski. "Common belief has been expressed that this pilgrimage will serve the good of the motherland and the church. Also, the hope has been expressed that it will take place in the environment of peace and dignity which are necessary for this great event."

After the visit of John Paul II, the joint commission met and "expressed satisfaction with the course of the visit, which was accomplished due to the cooperation of the state and the church."

A similar opinion was expressed in many statements by the [Sejm] deputies at the 24 June session.

The Sejm worked vigorously in June. Two plenary sessions were held. The government program of agricultural development until 1990 and a review of the implementation of economic reforms were the subjects of the proceedings.

The government of Poland suspended its cooperation with the international Labor Organization because of the setting up of the so-called Commission of Inquiry into Polish Affairs by the administrative council. The government also reserved the right to undertake further appropriate steps regarding the membership of Poland in the ILO.

Important events occurred in the life of creative communities. The resignation of the chairmanship of the Association of Polish Filmmakers by Andrzej Wajda cleared the way for the reactivation of the association. The suspension of the ZLP [Union of Polish Writers] was extended indefinitely "due to the mounting evidence of profound changes under way in a considerable segment of the literary community." The ZPAP [Union of Polish Fine Artists] was dissolved because "efforts aimed at forging an understanding with the presidium of the Main Board of the suspended ZPAP...did not bring favorable results." Deputy Romuald Bukowski lodged a protest against this decision in the Sejm.

The first general meeting of the delegates of the Polish Catholic-Social Union took place on 11 June. Deputy Janusz Zablocki was reelected PZKS chairman. Shortly thereafter he was received by the primate of Poland, Jozef Glemp (27 June).

Several characteristic headlines from the press: Lines for Eyeglasses Are Shorter; Coupons for Shoes Are No Longer in Effect; Marital Law: A New Stage of Struggle for the Government of Souls.

July

On 22 July, after 585 days, the state of martial law was lifted by a decree of the Council of State. Amnesty was declared. The executive committee of the PRON National Council suggested that the state of martial law be lifted. Before that, this had been postulated on many occasions by the church. The circle of PZKS deputies also suggested this.

In July, as many as three sessions of the Sejm were held. On 14 July, the Sejm passed the law on the minister of the interior and gave the government the vote of acceptance for 1982. On 20-21 July the Sejm discussed the lifting of the state of martial law. Among other things, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski said: "From this prominent rostrum, I appeal cordially to all citizens, especially the young ones, who viewed the imposition of the state of martial law as the dashing of their hopes. This is your country. This is your future. Let us build it in agreement and cooperation. We have had enough of hateful looks in Poland. It is time to shake hands, to live in agreement and to recognize the good of the socialist motherland to be our common, indivisible and supreme good." The chairman of the PZKS circle, Janusz Zablocki, said: "The lifting of the state of martial law should foster everywhere aspirations to overcome past divisions and grudges, to achieve mutual forgiveness and national reconciliation and to strengthen mutual trust and social peace."

The Sejm passed the law on amnesty and the law on specific legal regulations in the period of overcoming the crisis. Its provisions will in principle

remain in effect until the end of 1985. Constitutional changes related to the state of emergency, the PRON and the so-called peasant provision were adopted.

On 29 July, the government submitted amendments to the penal code, the misdemeanor code and the law on censorship. Some deputies, including those of the PZKS circle, voiced reservations, which were eventually reflected in the results of voting. A package of tax laws was also passed.

Headlines from the press: The Chosen Path Is Right; Regulated Sales of Attractive Goods; 16,358 Trade Unions Have Been Registered; The Farewell Meeting of Activists of the FJN [Front of National Unity] in the Capital.

August

August was hot. For almost 3 weeks nothing interesting happened. Everybody went away to enjoy the well-deserved rest. Only the last week of the month brought many important events.

On the eve of the festival of the Virgin of Czestochowa at Jasna Gora, the bishops met at the 195th plenary conference of the episcopate. "We perceived the presence of the Apostle of Christ on Polish soil as a great national retreat," stated the bishops. "The Holy Father viewed our condition and offered a religious-social program for all the Poles and brothers in faith. The episcopate conveys to the Holy Father its most profound gratitude for this program. It is becoming our program for now and for the future."

On 25 August, Deputy Prime Minister M.F. Rakowski paid a visit to the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. He said: "On many occasions, the accusation has been leveled at us that we, the authorities, destroyed Solidarity... This is not true (...). Solidarity was destroyed by the extremists, by the people who for various reasons turned into avowed enemies of socialism (...) There is no space for negotiations with the functionaries of the dissolved union in the political life of the country." A statement by Lech Walesa was also reported in the press. He said: "We do not want to tear socialism down, we do not want to assume power, we are not undermining our [political] alliances. We would like you to sit down at the table with us and mull over the mistakes. Together we will find a solution and safeguard ourselves against further distortions in the name of a better future for our motherland." M.F. Rakowski responded: "The ones who have given that much proof of ill will and treachery cannot be treated as a partner."

On 31 August "disruptions of public order" occurred in Nowa Huta, Lubin, Czestochowa and Wroclaw. "In Gdansk, the attempts to create the atmosphere of tension and disquiet did not get off the ground."

The authorities dissolved the ZLP. "The final step was undertaken only when it turned out that a majority of the ZLP leadership denied all conciliatory suggestions on the basis of which normal activity of the creative union of writers can be resumed."

In August two interesting items appeared in the press. On 20 August POLITYKA carried an interview with the former governor of Gdansk, Professor Jerzy Kolodziejski, who recalled the course of the memorable negotiations in the Gdansk Shipyard. In RZECZPOSPOLITA, Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz published an article on understanding (24 August). "Quiet streets, the absence of leaflets and illegal publications, the absence of anarchical strikes which run counter to the law and common sense and so on, in a word, the lack of manifestations of a wide rift between the authorities and the populace, should not at all amount to understanding, harmony and cooperation. In other words, the lack of a conflict can amount only to a change in the forms of its course and existence. A genuine and permanent eradication of the conflict and inter alia genuine understanding and national cooperation cannot be achieved in a way other than by a painstaking gradual reconstruction of the socioeconomic system and the discharge of authority in Poland in a fashion conforming to the expectations and aspirations of the people, primarily of the working class."

Newspaper headlines in August: Repercussions of the July Bakery Scandal; As Many As 6,000 Persons Have Already Taken Advantage of Amnesty; Workers Say: What Are These False Crocodile Tears For; How Walesa Grew Taller Than Kosciuszko.

September

Celebrations of the 300th anniversary of the relief of Vienna were held in Vienna with the participation of the Holy Father and in our country.

The 196th plenary conference of the episcopate met on 20 and 21 September. The bishops expressed concern over the cases of removal of crosses from schools, institutions and enterprises. Responding to question on this matter, J. Urban declared at a press conference for foreign media that the authorities object to the placement of crosses in state institutions since "this does not conform to the secular character of the state."

The joint commission met on 26 September. It was stated that state-church relations "in the sphere of foreign affairs are developing favorably. The commission has confirmed that, regardless of differences of opinion on particular matters, the cooperation of the church and the state serves the common good."

At a press conference, Minister of Agriculture Stanislaw Zieba took a stand on the initiative to set up an agricultural foundation. "We welcome the initiative of the church with satisfaction. Working groups nominated by the episcopate and the government are at work. Legislative work on the draft law on the foundations is far advanced."

On 29 September, a Sejm session was held. The health condition of the population was the main subject of proceedings. It is far from perfect.

Indictments were returned against four activists of the KOR [Committee for the Defense of Workers]. They are accused of striving to overthrow the

political system by force. Shortly thereafter, J. Urban announced that these four activists, as well as seven leaders of Solidarity, would be able to leave Poland for a certain period of time if they so desired.

Several headlines from September press: The Reform Has Not Done Us Good; The People Are Right; The Government Keeps Its Word; Money, or the Real Concern of Lech Walesa.

October

On 5 October it was announced that Lech Walesa received the 1983 Nobel Peace Prize. Government spokesman J. Urban stated at a press conference: "In Poland, the prize brought out mixed feelings. Embarrassment is the dominant feeling. This year's Nobel Prize award has confirmed the political points made by our government, among other things, the point on the foreign incitement of divisions and conflicts in Poland. It will aid the government which I am representing because it shows to all citizens the correctness and soundness of our pronouncements."

The long-awaited "ideological" party plenum was held.

Janos Kadar paid a visit to Poland. This prompted a search for historical similarities and differences between our countries.

The PRON approached the Sejm with a suggestion to extend the amnesty period.

The new ZLP was registered. Halina Auderska is the chairman of the founding committee.

The press reported: Coffee and Tea as Rarities; 372 Persons Have Come Out of Hiding; One Can Go Into the Forests Again.

November

Foodstuffs are a political problem in our country. This was borne out in November as well. On 1 November the rationing of butter and other fats was reinstated. This was done so awkwardly that an emergency meeting of the government had to be called. "The government apologizes to the citizens, and especially to women, for the difficulties and irritation." Minister of Domestic Trade Zygmunt Lakomiec was reprimanded and two senior officials of the ministry lost their jobs.

Subsequently, on 12 November, Minister of Prices Zdzislaw Krasinski presented a draft of food price increases in three barely readable versions. One month was scheduled for the discussion.

A party plenum devoted to economic issues was held. Personnel changes were made in the Politburo and the Secretariat.

On 21 and 22 November, the Sejm was in session. The responsibilities of the KOK [National Defense Committee] were increased and its standing was enhanced.

The chairmanship was entrusted to Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski. The KOK would be able to recommend the imposition of the state of emergency. The Sejm expressed concern over the fulfillment of the 3-year plan in the current year. This was reflected in personnel changes in the government. Manfred Gorywoda succeeded Janusz Obodowski as chairman of the Planning Commission. Zbigniew Messner became a new deputy prime minister in charge of "coordinating" the work of the government. The hard currency law stirred controversy. It passed, with 5 deputies voting against it and 20 abstaining (including the PZKS circle).

Minister Kazimierz Zygulski permitted the repeated release of several movies ("It Was Jazz" by F. Falk, "The Shivers" by W. Marczewski and "Hands Up" by J. Skolimowski) which became possible "as a result of the progressing normalization of social life, promoting an atmosphere of calm and labor."

Some of the more interesting headlines from the press: Is This the End of Torment for Retirees and Annuitants?; Protests of Trade Unions; Why Is Bebiko Not Available?; Tea and Coffee on the Way to the Country; Holiday Table Will Be Modest.

December

On 8 December, the Joint Action Committee of the PZPR, ZSL [United Peasant Party] and SD [Democratic Party] came out in favor of holding elections to the people's councils in the spring of 1984 on the basis of a new electoral law and in favor of extending the tenure of the Sejm. On the same day, a meeting of the signatories of the declaration concerning the PRON was held. The signatories familiarized themselves with the draft electoral law for the people's councils and determined that its "basic outlines and content conform to the expectations of allied parties and associations of Catholics and lay Christians." On 14 December, the foundations of the electoral law appeared in the press. They will be under discussion until mid-January 1984.

The Sejm held three sessions in December. On 5 December, Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak offered information on the Committee for Observing the Law, Public Order and Social Discipline. Also, two laws were passed, on the state of emergency and amendments to the passport law. They stirred much controversy, both in Sejm commissions and the plenary session. On 21 and 29 December, the Sejm discussed economic issues (changes in regulations on the economic reform and the state budget for 1984).

On 20 December the joint commission met. The commission viewed the relations between the church and the state as "developing properly."

On 10 December Danuta Walesa received in Oslo the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Lech Walesa. The government spokesman said at a press conference on 13 December: "In his time, Walesa did not board the train of reconciliation onto which he was invited by the government. We warned him then that the train would leave from under his very nose, and indeed it did. Now national reconciliation is and will be carried out without Lech Walesa..."

On 16 December, the anniversary of the December events, street demonstrations took place in several cities. Water cannons were used in Czestochowa and Wroclaw. J. Urban evaluated 16 December as "a disaster for the underground."

Father Jerzy Popieluszko was put under investigation. "A certain quantity of ammunition and explosives and containers with tear gas" were found in his apartment.

In mid-December Minister Z. Krasinski stated in an interview for the press that consultations on increases in food prices were extended until mid-January. Therefore, the new prices will not take effect on 1 January 1984, as was envisaged at the time the draft of increases was published.

The press reported: Is the Party Easy To Love?; How Will Victory Square Look?; The Holidays Are Upon Us--The Tea Shortage.

What was Poland like in 1983, in the days of pilgrimage of national hope by the Holy Father, Poland after the lifting of the state of martial law? Did we come closer to genuine social agreement and national reconciliation? How profound is the normalization of social life? Did the mutual trust of the authorities and the populace increase? Is our life easier? How did we handle the economic crisis? We all ask ourselves important questions of this nature. Perhaps the review of events which I am submitting to the reader will facilitate finding answers to these questions. If this is the case, I will have fulfilled the task I set myself when I began writing this piece.

9761

CSO: 2600/537

COMMANDER OF TERRITORIAL DEFENSE REGIMENT DISCUSSES ITS ACTIVITIES

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 47, 20 Nov 83 pp 5, 14

[Interview with Col Eugeniusz Holod, commander of the Lublin Territorial Defense Regiment, by Tadeusz Oziemkowski; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Recently, the unit commanded by you, Citizen Colonel, quietly and without great fanfare celebrated its 20th anniversary. Not long afterwards, something took place that was the crowning of the many years of hard work of the officer complement and several generations of regular soldiers.

[Answer] Of course. Our superiors duly appreciated our collective effort, and within the framework of the 40th anniversary celebrations of the Polish People's Army, the standard of our regiment was decorated with the Cross of the Commander's Order of the Rebirth of Poland. This was a very beautiful and impressive celebration, in which all personnel participated.

[Question] Was the Lublin Territorial Defense Regiment located in Lublin from the beginning?

[Answer] Its formation took place in Radzyn Podlaski, after which, 5 years later, we were transferred to Chelm, and from there, after another 5 years, to Lublin. During these two decades our officers and men carried out various kinds of training and production assignments at many important projects of the national economy: in the nitrogen plant in Pulawy, in the Werbkowice Sugar Mill, the Chelm Cement Works, the tannery in Lubartow, the meat packing plant in Lukow, the Bilgoraj Odzieżowce and the heat and electric power plant in Rybnik.

[Question] Perhaps there were plenty of your soldiers in the steel industry?

[Answer] Of course. Our soldiers also trained in the Nowotko Steel Mill in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski and in the machinery industry, in the Swidnik Transportation Equipment Plant and the Mielec Transportation Equipment Plant. And this is still not everything, because when the need arose, we also traveled to the construction of the Lazenki Highway in Warsaw. During these 20 years, we earned the gratitude of the residents of many cities, who honored our regiment not only with badges of honor but at times even with color television sets.

It is possible that in the near future, on our silver anniversary, someone will try to describe the history and services of the regiment more expansively. We will supply him with considerable documentary material, but we will also propose a trip to various cities, to the industrial enterprises on the construction sites, so that he would be convinced on the spot of how great the soldiers' labor is. On the site it will turn out that in many of these plants skilled workers who attained an interesting and remunerative trade as soldiers of the Lublin Territorial Defense Regiment are in permanent positions, and how they have their own home there, are raising children, and are increasing their skills.

[Question] Then the military service is not only an honorable and difficult obligation?

[Answer] In our regiment, the service goes along somewhat differently than in a standard line unit. During the course of the first 6 months, we conduct intensive basic military training, and during the 16 following months there is practical training on various projects of the national economy. On the whole, young people come to us who have no skills whatsoever (and it also happened during the first years of the existence of the regiment that they came without having completed elementary school) and the teaching of profitable and interesting trades to them takes place with benefits to both sides: to the industrial plants and to the soldiers. Thanks to their military service, the latter are turned from persons without a trade and prospects for making a living into not just soldiers well prepared for the defense of the country, but also skilled machinists, mechanics, welders, assemblers, masons, roofers, or steel fixers. Some even "manage" to acquire a rare and scarce trade, such as a carpenter or a railroad trackwork machine operator.

[Question] Is it difficult to get by without the aid of the soldiers in railroad work?

[Answer] Especially there. I am reminded here of a bit of information that I read not too long ago, most likely in POLITYKA, not a big thing, but amazing at that, that in the Miedzyrzecze area there was a derailment resulting from the fracture of a rail used since 1889! I do not know whether that information belongs among the fables or to believe that that is really the way it was. Perhaps that event took place at some little-used side route. Going back to the subject, I have to stress that our main contractor, as far as the matter of training young people in various interesting trades is concerned, is the Eastern District Directorate of the State Railroads. Within the area of this directorate, the soldiers rebuild and modernize transportation routes which are many years younger--as a result of intensive use--than that anecdotal route near Miedzyrzecze.

[Question] It has already become a tradition for many soldier groups to help farmers harvest crops in the fall.

[Answer] Our help for agriculture is of a somewhat different nature. We have a considerable achievement in land improvement work--which is very strenuous

and demands great effort--on the territory of southeastern Poland, and in the construction of various projects of the state farms in the vicinity of Hrubieszow, Tomaszow, and Wlodawa.

[Question] Can one surmise that the soldiers and officers of the Lublin regiment are contributing particularly much effort for the benefit of their own city?

[Answer] Of course. For we are stationed here in Lubl'n, the Lublin Construction Enterprise is here, and the soldiers built in part a new barracks facility for us, although it is not completed. From now on we are counted on for giving help at least for the new iron foundry at the Lublin Truck Factory and in the building up of the telecommunications network in the city and in the province. However, I have to note that the work that is done within the framework of learning a trade is something different than what is being done for the benefit of the city and the region which is realized spontaneously outside of duty hours. The value of the latter on the territory of Radzyn Podlaski, Chelm, and Lublin, is estimated at a sum of 2-3 million zlotys. In general, we are not even trying to count up the zloty value of the most precious gift--blood that is donated for the benefit of people needing help. This priceless gift of ours is over 5,000 liters of priceless medicine. And thus in the hall of traditions is the "Gold Certificate of the Polish Red Cross," which we received 4 years ago.

[Question] Are there other achievements?

[Answer] Inspections, tests, and checks conducted many times have proven that we are well prepared for the tasks awaiting us. Frequently, we have attained the leading position in the competition between Territorial Defense units on the armed forces level, including during 1976, 1977, 1980, and 1981--the title of best unit. Twice we were distinguished with the medal "For Achievements in Military Service," and recently with the medal "For Outstanding Achievements in Military Service."

[Question] And what is the situation with individual competition?

[Answer] It is only necessary to glance into the daily order book of our unit, where it is possible to add up over 350 names of soldiers distinguished by silver and bronze "Model Soldier" badges. In one of the orders of distinction, it is also possible to see that four officers--Tadeusz Bozym, Stanislaw Kot, Andrzej Nawrocki, and Roman Ligaj--received the gold "Model Officer" badge. I add that the subunit commanded by Eng Lt Stanislaw Kowcjsza is in the lead.

[Question] During the time of martial law...

[Answer] ...the superiors did not make any allowances concerning our regiment --we executed missions of protecting industrial, telecommunications, and communications facilities, and state storage facilities on the territory of the seven provinces of northeastern Poland. Independently of this, we directed many of the best officers, warrant officers, noncoms, and soldiers into operational groups, and, as we know, they performed flawlessly!

[Question] And today...?

[Answer] Today, after the lifting of martial law, when the burdening of us by obligations has become considerably lighter, today we can again remind ourselves that three high schools and Elementary School No 40 located nearby are coming under our care. However, the elementary school in Suchodole, in the gmina of Fajslawice, is the one most frequently visited by our soldiers and officers, because it carries the name of the Lublin Territorial Defense Regiment. Our cabaret-stage group travels there regularly, and the officers give lectures--not just about the army. However, soldiers recently helped the school in the organization of recreation and in outfitting learning aids for various subjects.

[Question] And who visits you?

[Answer] Veterans and scouts come to us. Both visit the Hall of Traditions and barracks trophies, and take part in various celebrations.

[Question] What gave you the greatest pleasure, Citizen Colonel, on the Holiday of the Army?

[Answer] I got great satisfaction from the high ratings of the regiment and also from the distinctions for our soldiers.

[ZOLNIERZ POLSKI] We thank you for the discussion.

5808

CSO: 2600/533

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS CREATES NEW COMMITTEE

Warsaw MONITOR POLSKI in Polish No 39, 12 Dec 83 p 342

[Text] Resolution of the Council of Ministers No 168 of 2 Dec 1983, concerning the creation of the Committee of the Council of Ministers for Matters Pertaining to the Observance of Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline.

In order to increase the efficiency of the coordination of the activities of the organs of state administration and of the cooperation between state institutions and community organizations--to create appropriate conditions for respecting the law, assuring discipline and public order and, particularly, for more consistent and effective combating of economic and common crimes as well as signs of social pathology--the Council of Ministers, pursuing the intentions of the 14th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee resolves the following:

Paragraph 1. The Committee of the Council of Ministers for Matters Pertaining to the Observance of Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline--hereafter referred to as "the Committee"--is hereby created.

Paragraph 2. The following matters fall within the purview of the Committee:

- 1) Observance of legal order,
- 2) assuring public peace and order,
- 3) strengthening social discipline,
- 4) reducing reasons and conditions conducive to criminal offenses,
- 5) countering economic speculation, mismanagement, and waste,
- 6) intensification of tracking down offenders against life, health, and property of citizens, as well as against the interests and good of the state,
- 7) counteraction against the phenomena of social pathology,
- 8) formation of citizens' consciousness of the law and their respect for the law.

Paragraph 3.1. The Committee prepares basic principles for governmental policies, initiates undertakings and necessary actions which will assure the coordination of the operations of organs of state administration, of prosecution and administration of justice, of control, as well as of other units of state organization in matters dealt with in Paragraph 2.

2. The Committee, in particular, will:

- 1) analyze and evaluate situations and occurrences dealt with in Paragraph 2,
- 2) program the direction for crime prevention and for initiating of criminal proceedings against those guilty of crimes and misdemeanors,
- 3) analyze and evaluate the effectiveness of the implementation of the policy of tracking down of criminals and law violators and of prevention of law violations,
- 4) prompt organs of state administration, other units of state organization, and community organizations to undertake necessary actions within the purview defined in Paragraph 2,
- 5) issue opinions on proposed normative legal acts dealing with the prosecution of crimes, the prevention of law violations, and with other phenomena of social pathology,
- 6) initiate scientific studies dealing with the prevention and combating of crime,
- 7) examine other matters submitted to it by the Council of Ministers or the prime minister.

Paragraph 4.1. The Committee cooperates with the Supreme Chamber of Control, with the Supreme Court, with the Prosecutor General of the PRL, and with other state organs established to strengthen obedience to law, the observance of public order, and the protection of citizens' rights, as well as with the organizational units of control, examination, and audit subject to the highest and to the central organs of state administration.

2. The committee cooperates with political organizations, trade unions, youth organizations, cooperatives, community organizations and organizations of self-government.

3. The Committee cooperates with scientific and educational institutions taking advantage of their research.

Paragraph 5.1. The function of the chairman of the Committee is hereby given to candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo General Czeslaw Kiszczak.

2. At the initiative of the chairman of the Committee, the prime minister appoints the vice chairmen of the Committee, the secretary of the Committee,

as well as the members of the Committee from among representatives of state administration.

3. At the initiative of the chairman of the Committee, the prime minister may invite representatives of political parties, of the executive committee of the National Council of PRON, of state organizations and institutions as well as of trade unions and of community and cooperative organizations to participate in the workings of the Committee.

Paragraph 6. The Committee draws up periodic plans for its activity and submits to the Council of Ministers reports of their implementation, as well as its conclusions and opinions.

Paragraph 7.1. Within the Committee there may be set up commissions to deal with specific problems.

2. The chairman of the Committee may set up task forces and invite persons from outside of the Committee to participate in their work.

Paragraph 8. Procedures for the workings of the Committee are determined by resolution No 93 of the Council of Ministers of 2 August 1983, which regulates the work of the Council of Ministers and of the Government Presidium as well as the procedure for the preparation, finalizing and publication of normative legal acts (MONITOR POLSKI No 27, item 152).

Paragraph 9. The Office of the Council of Ministers secures the staffing of the Committee and the means for its operations.

Paragraph 10. This resolution takes effect on the day of its publication.

[signed] Chairman of the Council of Ministers, General of the Army W.
Jaruzelski

12207

CSO: 2600/546

CHANGES IN PASSPORT LAW INSTITUTED

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 66, 10 Dec 84, item 298 p 851

[Law on Changes in Passport of 5 December 1983]

[Text] Article 1. The following changes are being instituted in the law on passports of 17 June 1959 [DZIENNIK USTAW No 17, 1967, item 81, and No 28, 1971, item 261]:

(1) in article 1, paragraph 5 changed to:

"5. Special regulations may designate other documents than those listed in paragraphs 1-4 and which permit crossing of the border."

(2) in article 4:

(a) paragraph 2 changed to:

"2. authorized organ may deviate from the principle, delineated in paragraph 1, and refuse to issue a passport when:

(1) the passport applicant is under preparatory, court, or executive investigation due to criminal offense as a result of indictment by public prosecutor or tax law violation, or in the case of conditional discontinuation of such proceedings before the expiration of a 3-month probationary period;

(2) issuance of a passport would be against the security and defense interests of the state; when protection of state secrets would require it; and when issuing a passport could lead to substantial losses by the national economy or seriously disturb its functioning;

(3) important social interests are at work, which speak against it, such as, in particular:

(a) the need to provide care and means of subsistence to a person dependent on the person applying for a passport,

(b) inability by the passport applicant to secure means of support for his stay abroad,

(c) inability to secure legal protection and care to the passport applicant due to lack of diplomatic and consular relations between the Polish People's Republic and the

the state to which the applicant intends to travel, or due to special conditions in a given state which may endanger the life, health, or individual freedom of the applicant;

- (4) the passport applicant failed to fulfill his obligations to the state, unit of socialized economy, or a person based on law, or a decision by court or other authorized state organ;
- (5) the passport applicant had harmed the interests of the Polish People's Republic during his stay abroad;
- (6) the passport applicant during his stay abroad harmed the good name of the Polish People's Republic, and before expiration of 2 years since such act;
- (7) the passport applicant violated article 8, paragraph 4, or violated rules specified in article 23 or 24 more than once."

(b) paragraph 4a added after paragraph 4:

"4a. When denying a passport based on reasons listed in paragraph 2, item 2, the denial of issuance of justification for such decision is allowed.

- (3) In article 10, paragraph 1, citation "article 4, paragraph 2, points 1-5" is changed to "article 4, paragraph 2."

- (4) Article 10a added after article 10:

"Article 10a. Regulation in article 4, paragraph 1, and in articles 4a, 5, and 10 are to be used by the passport offices when issuing documents permitting border crossing, as specified by special regulations."

- (5) Article 12, paragraph 1, changed to:

"1. A diplomatic or consular office may deny a consular passport, book type, when the applicant is under investigation for the purpose of depriving such person of Polish citizenship, or permitting its change to another one, or because of conditions defined in article 4, paragraph 2, points 1-3 (a) (c) and points 4-7."

- (6) In article 22 the citation "article 4, paragraph 2, points 2-4" changed to "article 4, paragraph 2, points 2 and 5-7."

- (7) In article 23:

(a) in paragraph 1, second sentence, "1 week" changed to "14 days";

(b) the wording of paragraph 4 changed to:

"4. Minister of internal affairs or organs authorized by him may relieve passport holders of the obligation to deposit them in the appropriate passport offices."

(8) In article 24, paragraph 1, the wording "the nearest unit of Citizens' Militia" changed to "the nearest office of internal affairs, or Citizens' Militia precinct office or post."

(9) The wording of article 25 changed to:

"Article 25. Violator of the regulations in article 23 or 24 is subject to a fine of up to 20,000 zlotys."

Article 2. The law takes effect on 31 March 1984.

[signed] H. Jablonski, chairman, Council of State
J. Szymanek, secretary, Council of State

8609

CSO: 2600/539

NATIONWIDE INSPECTIONS INDICATE SHORTCOMINGS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Jan 84 p 6

[PAP article: "What Has Been Shown by the NIK Inspections?"]

[Text] The main barriers and limitations to the realization of the 3-Year Plan are: insufficient supply of raw goods and materials for the needs of the economy and shortage of laborers.

These limitations make it impossible to utilize more fully the production potential which, after all, is not small. Under such circumstances it is necessary to reach for existing reserves, above all for those which do not cost anything, and it is necessary to prevent uneconomical and wasteful activities, to eliminate the plague of theft of public property and to improve employee discipline.

The 1983 inspections by the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] attest that there is a great amount of room for improvement of this situation. These inspections have indicated, for instance, that even though only 80 percent of work-time was used in a number of enterprises in the metallurgy and machine industry ministry, overtime load was also being claimed. The inadequate use of production capacity in the majority of inspected enterprises of this ministry was also a result of a bad employment structure and of activities that favored growth in the number of employees directly involved in production.

For instance, in the Measuring Instruments and Microcomputer Systems Production Plants, the use of the workers' time continued to drop to the level of 80 percent while, at the same time, production was basically continued on one shift alone. Therefore, the degree of use of production capacity hardly equalled 53 percent. Similar, although somewhat better, proportions occurred in the Mera-Blonie Precision Instruments Plants, or in the Warsaw Metal Rolling Mill. An inspection of production task fulfillment has revealed that in some sectors of the Ship Equipment Factory in Rumia 100 percent of the workers have been leaving their posts earlier [than they ought to] 10 or more times a month.

Recently, an underutilization of the workday influenced the increase in overtime hours.

In many enterprises, despite a decrease in employment, the number of white-collar employee positions has kept increasing. For instance, in the Befama Bydgoszcz Tool Factory during the years 1980-83 employment decreased about 10.9 percent wherein the employment of direct production employees decreased by 24.2 percent with a simultaneous increase by 12.3 percent in the number of the white-collar employees. In the Lathe Factory of Bydgoszcz the number of worker positions has decreased by 12.2 percent, while the number of white collar employees increased by 7.2 percent.

In a series of cases inspections have uncovered the loosening of work-standard discipline, introduced mainly to achieve a pay increase unrelated to work results. In general, quite a high achievement of norms resulted, while at the same time productivity declined. For instance, in the Vis Cutting Tool Factory in Siedlce, amidst the productivity decline in 1982 and 1983 as compared with 1981, the average fulfillment of the norm in the individual groups was from 176 to 289 percent, while in some occupations (turners, cutters) it sometimes reached almost 500 percent. It has also been determined in many other enterprises that despite the changing technical and organizational conditions, work norms have not been changed for over a dozen years.

The problem of securing property from theft or destruction takes on particular significance when considered against the background of the general relaxing of enterprise work discipline. In the Passenger Car Factory [FSO], in the first half of 1983 alone over 6370 batteries were lost because of thefts or destruction, 25 million zlotys in retail value, while 4771 wheels were lost, valued at about 31 million zlotys. It is essential to note that the existing organization conditions in FSO did not ensure the immediate discovery of these thefts while they were occurring. In the Ursus Mechanical Works in 1982, 15 tractors were stolen from the enterprise grounds, valued at 4 million zlotys, and 1914 batteries were stolen, while in the first half of 1983 there were already 2697 batteries stolen. These thefts occurred during the transportation of these objects from the warehouses to the production sectors. In all the described cases, and in others, because the financial responsibility has not been imposed, the losses so incurred were a burden on the production costs of these enterprises.

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CONTINUITY OF ROMANIAN PRESENCE ON DANUBE LEFT BANK

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[Article by Univ Lect Dr Stelian Brezeanu: "The Continuity of the Romanians in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic Area"]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu: "The Union of 1918 responded to the objective requirements and laws of social development, it being based on basic realities such as the common origin and language and the identity of interests and aspirations of the whole populace longing to live in a single country. For centuries on end, the Romanians lived in different state formations, but despite this separation, the idea of unity, of belonging to the same unique people, always remained alive in their consciousness."

Nowadays, historical science, along with the other social sciences, is experiencing profound changes of perspective. In the first place, with regard to the extent of the field of research, its territory has expanded in a double direction—in space and time—bringing into its flow, out of a noble ambition, any human experience. History now tends to collect data from the field of all the social sciences, in the desire to embrace man in all the manifestations of his existence.

In recent decades, the historical science in the European countries has made great progress. The picture of the medieval and modern history of the continent has undergone substantial changes under the influence of the changes made in the world after the last world war, under the beneficent impact of the vigorous ascent of the progressive forces, of the advanced ideas. Big steps have been taken in the direction of the unitary presentation of the historical processes occurring in Europe, with the due attention being given to the diversity of the forms of manifestation of them. Many works present the history of the peoples of the continent not as a "confrontation of civilizations," but as an expression of the interdependences, of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples toward social and national freedom, toward independent development. European historiography, dominated in the past by the conflict between the defenders of "civilization," identified with the "Western world," and "Balkan and Slavic barbarism," identified with the Byzantine Slavic society, according to a scheme of Leopold von Ranke, cultivated for more than a century, for

exclusively political reasons, by a number of researchers, is registering realistic stands, approaches marked by professional integrity, by an objective spirit. The constructive, scientific language, meant to lead to closeness between peoples, is gaining ground.

The dispute about the problem of the continuity of the Romanians, a dispute that has divided European medieval studies for two whole centuries, also tends to take such a direction. The political character of the dispute, springing from "hatred and vanity,"¹ has been emphasized by many specialists who have looked at the question. As the influence of politics on the above-mentioned scientific debate is evident to any honest-minded researcher, we will try in the following to see how far this influence has gone and the goals and nature of the politics that have made use of the historical argument.

In 1781-1782, Fr. J. Sulzer put forth the immigration theory, defying the opinion, widely shared in the Middle Ages, regarding the uninterrupted continuity of the Romanians in the Carpathian-Danubian region. Up to that time, no one had cast doubt upon the antiquity of the presence of the autochthons in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area, and for more than half a millennium, in European scientific and political literature, people spoke about the Romanians as the permanent inhabitants of this area, gotten from their ancestors, the Geto-Dacians.²

At the junction of the 12th-13th centuries, the presence of the Romanians was attested in the work of the anonymous clerk of King Bela, concerned, however, not with protecting the interests of the autochthons, but with collecting evidence in support of the "historical rights" of the Arpad dynasty and the Hungarian aristocracy, in order to legitimate their domination over Pannonia and Transylvania. A century later, the same political goal reappeared in the work of another representative of Hungarian medieval history, Simon de Keza. The two chroniclers supported the Hungarian "historical rights," confirming, however, in an explicit manner, the "Vlach" presence in the Danube basin before Arpad's conquests or even that of Attila. At the same time, Byzantine sources mentioned, north of the Danube, populations known as "Dacians" and "Getae," who were none other than the Romanians. In the next period, these references multiplied endlessly, with the authors of the 15th century acknowledging, without reservations, that the "Dacians" and "Getae" were the Romanian population to the left of the Danube, a population that was descended from the Dacians and Getae who lived on these territories in ancient times.

The 15th-18th centuries marked a new stage in the recognition of the autochthony of the Romanians in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area, in the acknowledgment of their historical rights by European scientific and political literature. With the writings of the European humanists, the idea of the continuity of the Romanians on the territory of ancient Dacia tended to become a matter of common awareness to the impartial scholars and political figures of the time. The basic idea of the humanist theory of the time regarding the autochthony of the Romanians, an idea associated with that of the Latinity of the language, was their descent from "the colonies of the Romans" brought by Trajan to the left of the Danube. It was present in the most notable representatives of the Western intellectual world (Flavio Biondo, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Francesco

della Valle, Johannes Leunclavius and so on), in the Saxon and Hungarian chroniclers, in daily contact with the Romanians (Antonio Bonfini, Johannes Lebel, Georg Soterius, Martin Felmer and so on) and in the Romanian scholars (Grigore Ureche, D. Cantemir, Stolnicul Cantacuzino and so on), there merging, in the latter, the awareness of Romanian autochthony with the European scholarly tradition regarding the Latin origin and the continuity of the inhabitation of the Romanians to the north of the Danube.

In this period, however, attitudes hostile to the Romanians, motivated politically, were not absent, both in the Polish intellectuals in the 16th-17th centuries, who called the Romanians descendants of the Roman "wrongdoers" exiled by the sovereigns of Rome to the north of the Danube, and especially in the Hungarian authors in Transylvania, Stefan Szamoskozy and the Jesuit Szentivanyi. The change in Szamoskozy's attitude after the dramatic events in Transylvania, in the time of Michael the Brave, is indicative of the unstable political character of the position of such intellectuals. Thus, in 1598, before the union of the Romanian countries by the Wallachian voivode, he had spoken in favor of accepting the thesis of the continuity and Latin origin of the Romanians, but, after 1600, he denounced the theory of Roman descent, asserting that Gallienus would have withdrawn his colonists to the south of the Danube in the third century. The writings of the Hungarian chroniclers in Transylvania, which bear the stamp of the disdainful attitude held toward the Romanians by the Hungarian nobles and the Catholic Church in Transylvania, fearful of the prospect of the overthrow of the political order in the principality, an order that was based on the domination of the "three" political "nations" over the "Wallachian plebs," "tolerated" and "schismatic,"² are worth bearing in mind in connection with the evolution of the problem in the next period.

The autochthony and the continual presence of the Romanians in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area--arguments with whose help the Romanian intellectuals understood to protect the social and national interests of their people, at the end of the 18th century, when the "war of continuity" began--did not constitute abstract elements of a sui generis theory, but represented a historical reality confirmed by an impressive volume of documents utilized by the researchers of the past. In its essence, the conception of continuity had at its origin a double tradition--one, an autochthonous, Romanian folk tradition, and the other, a scholarly, European tradition, whose synthesis found its expression in the writings of the Saxon scholars and especially the Romanian humanist scholars of the 17th-18th centuries.

At the end of the 18th century, the theory of continuity became an important instrument in the struggle for social and political emancipation waged by the Romanians in Transylvania, in response to the immigration theory, an expression of the interests of the privileged "nations" in the intra-Carpathian province. In the struggle to protect their basic interests, violated by the "political nations," that is, by the Hungarian nobles and the German patriciate, the historical argument--accrediting the Romanian people's descent from "the colonies of the Romans" brought by Trajan and their continual presence on the territory of ancient Dacia--acquired an incontestable political function.

The explosive situation existing in Transylvania at the end of the 18th century, due to the fact that the Romanians were deprived of political rights,

although they formed the absolute majority of the inhabitants of the principality, was the result of a long historical evolution in Transylvanian society. The beginnings of the deterioration of this situation go back to the 14th century, when, for political and religious reasons, the Romanians were deprived of the old rights and autonomies and reduced, in an overwhelming majority, to the condition of peasant serfs. The great social conflicts in Transylvania during the next two centuries worsened more and more the social, political and national position of the Romanian population, against which the alliance of the privileged, known in history as "Unio Trium Nationum"--"the Union of the Three Nations"--had been formed. The royal legislation in the 17th century sanctioned on a political plane the separation between the "political nations" and the "Wallachian plebs."

The struggle of the Romanians in Transylvania for social and national rights acquired new reflexes through the patriotic activity performed by Inochentie Micu, bishop between 1728 and 1751. The program of the Transylvanian bishop took shape gradually, to be crystallized in the '40's of the 18th century. From then to the end of his forced exile, he supported it before the "Estates" and the Hapsburgs with extraordinary vigor, given by unswerving faith in the justice of the cause of his people. The numerical superiority of the Romanians over the privileged nations, taken together, the weight of the public burdens that they bore, the natural right and the historical right--all these arguments were called upon to support the demands contained in his program: the Romanian nation's equality in rights with the other nations and its representation in political life in a proportion corresponding to the numerical percentage of the Romanians and the quantity of the public obligations that they had in the principality.

The action of Inochentie Micu failed, but the ideas sowed by him were to bear fruit soon and to penetrate deeply into the masses of Romanian peasants, on the ground of the great social and political conflicts in Transylvania, which culminated in Horea's rebellion and in the historical memorial of the Transylvanian Romanians in 1791--"Supplex Libellus Valachorum." How deeply the historical argument influenced the popular masses follows clearly from the ideological manifestations of the great rebellion led by Horea, Closca and Crisan. At the height of the dramatic events in 1784, the Romanian peasants asserted that the "country," Transylvania, was not the Hungarians', but the Romanians', so that "the Hungarians and their landlords have to be kicked out," or "this country is ours, the Hungarian country is yours."⁴ The Romanian rebels' slogan "The country is ours" came from the awareness of their origin, continuity and numerical superiority over the Hungarians, from the belief that they were at home, while the homeland of the nobles was the "Hungarian country" or even "Scythia."

"Supplex Libellus Valachorum" also applied itself to continuing the same arguments. The argumentation of the memorial was infinitely richer, with the new ideas, of an illuministic influence, being associated with the historical right in support of the demands of the nation. In relation to the other arguments, the historical argument was overwhelming. Thus, the "equality" of the Romanian nation with the political nations appeared to be a "restitution" of rights usurped by the illegal innovations of the Estates in the 17th century.⁵

The response of the strata threatened in their privileges was not long in coming. As far back as in the time of Inochentie Micu, the demands of the Romanians were greeted with undisguised contempt. Regarded as an "(olaha) plebs," any political rights, including the name "natio valachica," were refused to them. Such an attitude was the result of strong class prejudices cultivated for centuries on end by a minority which defended with all its might its monopoly of domination of a feudal nature and which refused to the excluded any concession. Moreover, the disdain of the noble for the "rabble" was a normal thing everywhere in medieval Europe. In the case of Transylvania, however, on the ground of an anachronistic political order, it wore a national costume, in that, in their overwhelming majority, the nobles were Hungarians, and the "rabble" was formed of Romanians.

On this ground of social and political conflicts and of resentments, there appeared in Vienna, in 1781-1782, the work "Geschichte des Transalpinischen Daciens," signed by Fr. J. Sulzer, an officer of Swiss origin, married to the daughter of a German townsman in Brasov. The central idea of the work was that the Romanians would supposedly have their origin in the south-Danubian area, in the Balkans, and that, at the junction of the 12th-13th centuries, they would have begun to migrate to the north of the Danube, where they found the Hungarians and Saxons in permanent settlements and with sound institutions. The "arguments" of the theory, without any value, were the accounts of the ancient literary sources about the abandonment of Dacia by Aurelian, the absence of sources regarding the Romanian presence north of the Danube up to the 13th century, the Slavic influence on the Romanian language, and the Orthodox faith of the Romanians, which, in the author's view, could have been gotten only from the south of the Danube.

Some 10 years later, Saxon J. C. Eder⁶ and Cluj Prof Martin Bolla⁷ revived Sulzer's arguments in order to reject the political demands of the Romanians. After the fading of the echo of the "Supplex," the stands in support of the immigration theory became rarer, there even appearing among the Saxons in Transylvania attempts to combat the excesses of Eder's notes, while the Hungarian scholars beyond the borders of Transylvania continued to support the thesis of Romanian continuity.⁸ In this regard, J. Ch. Engel proposed a new version of the immigration theory, combating Sulzer's work in its historical details and in its political senses. In his opinion, the Romanians came north of the Danube at the start of the ninth century, a reason why he acknowledged the documentary value of Bela's anonymous clerk and, on a political plane, nevertheless called the Romanians the oldest inhabitants of Transylvania.⁹

The response given by the leaders of the Transylvanian School--Samuil Micu, Petru Maior, Gh. Sincai and Ioan Budai-Deleanu--had as a basic thesis the pure Roman origin of the Romanians and their uninterrupted continuity on the territory of ancient Dacia. Supported with arguments taken from the chronicle of Bela's anonymous clerk, from the writings of Romanian scholars (Dimitrie Cantemir and so on) and from the works of European scholars, found in libraries in Vienna and Italy, these theses were meant to support the national aspirations of the Transylvanian Romanians. As is known, in the heated polemic with the adherents of the immigration theory, the representatives of the Transylvanian School exaggerated in some respects, trying to accredit the purely Latin

origin of the Romanians, the total annihilation of the Dacians by Emperor Trajan, and to concretize--on a linguistic plane--this conception of theirs, turning to "purifying" the Romanian language of everything that was not Latin.

In Romanian history, the second half of the 19th century constitutes an era of great progress along the line of fulfilling the national aspirations. The Union of the Principalities under Alexandru Ioan Cuza was, in this regard, a crucial event, heralding the imminent accomplishment of another historic act--the union of Transylvania and the other territories inhabited by the Romanian population with the Romanian state. Both the Union of 1859 and the gaining of the state independence of Romania in 1877 had an immense reverberation among the Romanians in the territories under foreign domination, nourishing the hope of their political emancipation and their union with their brothers beyond the mountains. Romania was beginning to become, according to a witness of the time, "a sun whose rays give warmth and light to all Romanians in the neighboring countries."¹⁰

The grave crisis that confronted the Hapsburg Empire, weakened by the struggle for social and national emancipation of the subjugated peoples and threatened with dissolution as a result of the military defeats suffered in 1859 and 1866, caused the camarilla in Vienna to reach a compromise with the Hungarian nobles and bourgeoisie in order to secure its survival. The price for concluding the dualist pact in 1867, which led to the political reorganization of the multinational Hapsburg monarchy, was paid by its own popular masses, but especially by the Slavs and Romanians subjugated by the Austrian and Hungarian ruling classes. The creation of the dualist state led to the abolition of Transylvania's last remnants of autonomy and to its incorporation into Hungary. Through the transformation of the principality into a mere province of the Hungarian kingdom proper, the aspirations of the majority Romanian population toward self-determination were defied, there being an attempt to infuse new life into old schemes involving the formation of a "Great Hungary," in the boundaries of the historical Hungary under the crown of Saint Stephen.

R. Roesler's work "Romanische Studien. Untersuchungen zur Alteren Geschichte Rumaniens," printed in Leipzig in 1871, was, at bottom, to serve such schemes. Although, in the preface, the author assured the reader of the impartiality of his intervention in the scientific dispute regarding Transylvania's past, the content of the work belied him, he proving to be a continuer of Sulzer's immigration theory, which he dressed in new clothes, adjusted to the progress made in the meantime by historical and philological research. In Roesler's demonstration, the attempt to combine truth and falsehood into a coherent whole, accompanied by an apparently scholarly critical apparatus, is shocking. The conservatism of his historical view was equaled only by the conservatism of his political outlook. Thus, declaring himself a diehard supporter of "civilization," which he identified on Transylvanian ground with the society of the "Hungarians and Saxons," he despised the Romanians, "whose geographical position...gives them a political importance greater than would be their due according to numbers and customs."¹¹ Their aspirations toward national emancipation, supported with historical arguments, were, according to his assertions, "provocative of hilarity..., came from the hybrid and feverish mentality of the little peoples."¹² In consequence, these arguments and the principle of

nationalities had to yield in the face of the rights gained by the "culture-bearing peoples" (Kulturvolker).¹³ In such a view, in the Middle Ages, as in the modern era, the north-Danubian regions were the ground of the opposition between "the bearers of the valuable benefits of civilization"--that is, the Germans and Hungarians--and the "nomadic" and "vagabond shepherders," who were none other than the Romanians; consequently, the "civilized" peoples had the "true historical rights."

The immigration theory, in Roesler's version, became official in Hungary as a result of the dualist compromise, but its supporters did not add new arguments. In a number of polemical works, P. Hunfalvy, for instance, reviving the attempts of his predecessors to demonstrate the "Balkan origin" of the Romanians, asserted that, from the territories between the Danube and the Balkans, they migrated northward, reaching Transylvania only in the 13th century, where they found the Hungarians.¹⁴ The political hue of his assertions and the scornful attitude from which exuded the age-old prejudices of the noble toward the Romanian serf aroused the natural reaction of the historians of the time. "He no longer speaks as a man of science who is devoted to truth," Rudolf Bergner remarked about him, "but as a representative of Hungarian chauvinism, who begins the competition with blind prejudice against the Romanians.... Will one less familiar with the subject, who seeks enlightenment, thus be able to welcome trustingly a man who degrades science in the service of politics and national hatred?"¹⁵ Moreover, the works of L. Rethy, J. Karacsony and J. Peisker, who developed the immigration thesis in constructions without any scientific foundation, calling the Romanians descendants of nomadic shepherders, coming from Italy or even Asia, were also put in the service of the same politics.

This time too, the Romanian response to Roesler's theory was prompt and well-reasoned. It is noteworthy that the historical research on the Romanian people's origin, continuity and struggle for survival found in the young Romanian state friendly ground for affirmation. The new historical school formed in Romania in the '60's-'80's of the 19th century was characterized by the same militant, patriotic spirit manifested by the Transylvanian scholars, but, at the same time, also by careful, wide-ranging research, based on critical analysis of the document. As a result, the old Latinizing excesses of the Transylvanian School were abandoned for good, with the dispute about the major problems of the Romanian people's history acquiring the character of a debate carried on in academic terms.

A. D. Xenopol, who gave the most systematic and vigorous response to the immigration theory in this period, considered Transylvania the cradle of the Romanian people, where they withdrew their vital forces during the "dark millennium"; from there, after the storm unleashed by the migratory peoples, the Romanians spilled over the mountains to the extra-Carpathian regions, laying the foundations of states of their own.¹⁶ In D. Onciul's view, however, the home of the Romanian people was much vaster, including the two banks of the Danube (Oltenia, Banat and southern Transylvania, to the north, and Moesia and Scythia Minor, to the south). Demonstrating that there were continual exchanges of population between the two banks of the river, he asserted that the penetration of the Slavs into the Balkans, in the sixth-seventh centuries, caused the massive shift of the Moesian Roman world to the north of the Danube, where it

expanded to all the Carpathian-Danubian regions.¹⁷ As for B. P. Hasdeu, he felt that the southwestern regions of our country constituted the cradle of the Romanians.¹⁸

At the end of World War I, with the disintegration of the multinational dualist empire and with the formation of the new national states of the former oppressed nations on its ruins, the Hungarian state, including the territories with a majority Hungarian population, came into being. However, the reactionary circles installed at the helm of the country after the suppression of the Hungarian socialist revolution refused to accept the new political and territorial reality resulting from the struggle for national liberation of the peoples of the former empire. In consequence, the reconstitution of "Great Hungary," of "historical Hungary," became the idee-force of Horthy's politics and ideology for the next quarter century. According to this idea, the old provinces--Transylvania, Slovakia, Croatia, Dalmatia and others--were to be returned to the "mother country." A captive of an unrealistic conception, loaded with social and national prejudices, the ruling elite of Horthy's regime disregarded the situation created as a result of the movement for national emancipation of the peoples subjugated by the Hapsburgs, attributing it to the "historical injustice" committed by the great powers at Trianon. As, with good reason, objective Hungarian researchers have stated, the slogan "Great Hungary" expressed the inclinations of the Hungarian bourgeoisie and landed aristocracy for domination in central Europe, by returning to the era of the "Ausgleich" and by denying the rights of the other nations in the region to existence.¹⁹

In the revanchist and revisionist climate maintained in the political life of the country by Horthy's circles, the immigration thesis was revived by a new generation of official historians, becoming in the '30's a sanctioned dogma, "from which even the slightest deviation meant desertion."²⁰ However, the political purpose of the interest in this theory was revealed even more clearly in the years of World War II, when a number of representatives of the Hungarian historical school inundated their contribution to knowledge of the past in forced, obviously biased interpretations. In the light of such interpretations, the Carpathian-Danubian territories reappeared as ground of the confrontation between the principle of "civilization"--expressed by the "higher race" of the Hungarians (identified most often with the Hungarian aristocracy, endowed with "innate political aptitudes," with "inclinations for culture" and with "a spirit of sacrifice," put in the service of European "civilization")--and the principle of "barbarism," personified by the "Slavic and Wallachian" lower races, by the "primitive savagery characteristic of the Balkan area inhabited by races incapable of assimilating the political experience and the benefits of civilization dispensed to them with so much generosity and unselfishness."²¹ From this perspective, Transylvania was presented as a true "citadel" of European "civilization" in the face of "Balkan savagery." The revivers of the theories of Sulzer and Roesler added not one new idea to the work of their predecessors, distinguishing themselves only by the zeal with which they endeavored to deny the antiquity and uninterrupted continuity of the Romanians in the ancestral Geto-Dacian abode.

Responding to the attempts at a distorted presentation of the past of our people, interwar Romanian historiography rose, in its great majority, against the

immigration thesis, systematically opposing to it the eloquent arguments of continuity. The great historian, N. Iorga, according to whom the area of formation of the Romanian people included both banks of the Danube, with the Romanians being descendants of the whole Eastern Roman world, distinguished himself in this regard. The same idea was supported, with linguistic and typonymic arguments, by Sextil Puscariu and N. Draganu, with Romanian archeology, through its most brilliant representative, V. Parvan, also providing more and more evidence in support of continuity. With the appearance of a new generation of Romanian scholars on the scene in the middle of the '30's, the research on the problems regarding the origin, antiquity and continuity of our people acquired a more and more systematic character, with its horizon expanding constantly. Gh. I. Bratianu, D. Prodan, A. Sacerdoteanu, Constantin Daicoviciu, E. Petrovici and so on were valuable exponents of this generation.

In the period after World War II, and especially after the ninth party congress, the knowledge of the history of the Romanian people has made incontestable progress, in proportion to the growth of the documentary base, thanks especially to the contribution of archeology, a fruitful and promising field. The constant research undertaken on all the Romanian territories is on the point of refuting the basic "arguments" of the immigration theory, such as, for example, the annihilation of the Dacian population by the Roman conquerors, the "evacuation" of the population from Dacia under Aurelian, and the transformation of the Danubian regions into *terrae desertae*. Competent researchers of the archeological relics have brought to light the symbiosis between the Dacian element and the Roman element in Dacia, the extent and intensity of the Romanization, and the continual presence of the Daco-Romans and, later, the Romanians to the north of the Danube (I. Barnea, L. Barzu, D. Berciu, E. Condurachi, H. Daicoviciu, K. Horedt, M. Macrea, I. Nestor, D. Protase, Gh. Stefan, D. Teodor, D. Tudor, E. Zaharia and so on). At the same time, research in other fields--like linguistics (I. Iordan, H. Mihaescu, G. Mihaila, Al. Rosetti, I. I. Russu and so on) and textual criticism (Vl. Iliescu, St. Pascu, Em. Popescu, E. Stanescu, R. Vulpe and so on)--has offered new arguments or has strengthened the old ones regarding the continuity of the Romanians in the ancestral abode.

The progress made during the last few decades in gathering the historical, archeological, linguistic and other documents, in soundly and objectively interpreting them, in actually knowing the historical past, offers premises of the most favorable kind for the further development of historical science as it has taken shape in recent years (C. C. Giurescu, P. P. Panaitescu, N. Gostar, R. Popa, R. Theodorescu, St. Stefanescu, M. Musat, I. Ardeleanu, I. H. Crisan, N. Stoicescu and so on). At the same time, the dialogue, the exchange of ideas, of information between the researchers in different countries, and especially in neighboring countries--whose history unfolded in a close interdependence--can make, in its turn, an important contribution to this research.

Through his activity, the historian of our times is called upon to combat the distrust, the enmity between peoples and nations, to militate for closeness and understanding between them. Steering clear of becoming an instrument of politics turned toward the past, he has the mission of denouncing the age-old prejudices that have separated or still separate people, of causing the truth and the principles of friendship and collaboration to triumph. The arguments that

the history of Transylvania offers in this regard are numerous and eloquent. The crucial moments in the development of the society in Transylvania found in the same camp the Romanian, Hungarian and Szekler peasants and the German townspeople. Of course, events whose course followed other rules, decided by the "tops" or by the national chauvinistic prejudices cultivated by the ruling circles over the centuries, were not absent. The common civilization created by the populations in Transylvania also offers us the same graphic example. To speak today of a confrontation of civilizations in the history of Transylvania means to call the parasitic aristocracy the creator of the common civilization in Transylvania and to eclipse the anonymous and united effort of the true creators of all the material and spiritual assets, who were the Romanian, Hungarian and Szekler peasants and the broad strata of German townspeople. In the long run, it means to cultivate a feudal outlook, which now finds a term of comparison in the ideology of colonialism.

Of course, in connection with the formation of the Romanian people and of the Romanian language or with the historical conditions in which the Daco-Roman and, later, Romanian population led its existence during the millennium of the great migrations, there still are questions to which historical science has not yet given a detailed or wholly satisfactory answer. The continuation of the research, and the dialogue, the exchange of ideas in objective terms, characteristic of scientific debates, cannot but lead to the deepening and crystallization of our knowledge regarding the past.

FOOTNOTES

1. I. Schmidt, "Die Verfassungsrechtliche und Politische Struktur des Rumanischen Staates in Ihrer Historischen Entwicklung," *SAMMLUNG DER SCHRIFTEN DER DEUTSCHEN ACAD. IN MUNCHEN*, No 9, 1932, p 25.
2. In connection with this, see Mircea Musat's article "The Daco-Roman Origin and the Continuity in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic Area--Basic Characteristics of the Romanian People," *ERA SOCIALISTA*, Nos 8-9, 1983.
3. I. Craciun, "Cronicarul Szamoskozy si Insemnarile Referitoare la Romani, 1566-1608" [*Chronicler Szamoskozy and the Notes Referring to the Romanians, 1566-1608*], Cluj, 1928, pp 37-42; D. Prodan, "Supplex Libellus Valachorum," Bucharest, 1967.
4. D. Prodan, "Rascoală lui Horea" [*Horea's Rebellion*], Bucharest, 1979, I, pp 246-247, 524, and II, p 672.
5. D. Prodan, "Supplex Libellus Valachorum," pp 483-492.
6. "Supplex Libellus Valachorum Transilvaniae Iura Tribus Receptis Nationibus Communa Postliminio Sibi Adseri Postulantium. Cum Notis-Historico-Criticis," Cluj, 1791.
7. "Dissertatio de Valachis, qui Transilvania Incolunt," Budapest, 1931.
8. A. A. Muresianu, "A New Contribution to the History of the Romanians in the Middle Ages," *TARA BIRSEI*, VIII, 1936, pp 404-407.

9. J. Ch. Engel, "Commentatis de Expeditionibus Trajani ad Danubium et Origine Valachorum," Vienna, 1794; idem, "Geschichte der Moldau und Valachei," Halle, 1804, IV, pp 138-140.
10. ALBINA [the Bee], 1869, apud "Istoria Romaniei" [the History of Romania], IV, Bucharest, 1964, p 678.
11. R. Roesler, "Romanische Studien...", pp 7-9.
12. Ibidem, p 140.
13. Ibidem, pp 65-66.
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12105

CSO: 2700/109

EFFORTS TO OVERCOME CONTRADICTIONS, DISPROPORTIONS IN SOCIETY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 19, 10 Oct 83 pp 29-31

[Article by Univ Lect Dr Aculin Cazacu: "Overcoming the Contradictions and Disproportions in Some Sectors of Activity in Our Society"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Deeply and constantly concerned with continually studying the realities and with utilizing the conclusions that result from this process in working out the policy for building the new order, the Romanian Communist Party is devoting special attention to the problems of the contradictions in our socialist society, of the disproportions that are appearing in some sectors of activity, and of the resolution of them by choosing optimum ways and efficient measures. "It is necessary," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu noted, "for us to draw the necessary conclusions from the contradictions that manifest themselves in different fields, in our society, and to act decisively in the direction of the rapid elimination of them, restoring an equilibrium and as full an agreement as possible between the production forces and the production relations and between the different sectors of economic and social activity. The elimination of the contradictions, the establishment of as full an agreement as possible and the harmonious development of society constitute an objective necessity for steady progress in carrying out the party's program, in raising the homeland to new heights of progress and civilization, in increasing the general, material and spiritual well-being of the people, in strengthening the sovereignty and independence of Romania."

The Promotion of the New, a Motive Force for the Development of Our Society, an Expression of the Dialectics of the Historical Process

One of the characteristic dimensions of the policy of our party is that of continually promoting the new. An overall, retrospective look at the accumulations of conception and of revolutionary practice shows that /the promotion of the new has become a strategy, a long-term action, always nourished by exploring the realities, continually enriched by recourse to the concrete historical data that define our existence/.

Undoubtedly, for anyone who researches national and world history, with an inclination toward the real identity of the facts, the struggle between the old and the new will appear as a red thread of historical processuality, as an

objective law, in whose mechanisms the motive forces of human society arise and develop. The social processes have a profound dialectical, contradictory character, they constitute the ground of the most complex and diverse manifestations of the law of the unity and conflict of opposites. The understanding of this law's traits of universality and of the historical circumstances in which it manifests itself presupposes the distinguishing of the antagonistic character of the contradictions specific to capitalism (determined as such by the very essence of this order) from /the nonantagonistic character of the contradictions that manifest themselves under socialism/.

In our party's view, the struggle between the old and the new, the manifestation of contradictions, constitutes and will constitute--including in the historical perspective of the transition to communism--a law of development. As the secretary general of the party stated, "contradictions exist and will continue to appear in any society. They cannot be resolved by an attitude of denial, but by studying and understanding the causes that generate them and, on this basis, by conscious action to eliminate the old states of affairs and to boldly promote the new." Emphasizing the universality of social contradictions, the fact that they represent a reality, have an existential status and pass through all spheres and levels of the social systems, our party has worked out, at the same time, a set of clear theses, ideas and orientations regarding the nature of, causes of, mode of manifestation of, and solutions to the contradictions specific to contemporary Romanian society. In the party's documents there is posed not only the problem of recognizing the existence of the contradictions under socialism, but also that of the actual capacities that our society possesses to resolve these contradictions with full knowledge of the case, in a scientific manner, in accordance with the specificity of each phase of development.

Moreover, the RCP's entire conception regarding the forging of the socialist society expresses a scientific, realistic view of the dialectics of development, a view centered on the concept of contradiction. Contradictions are conceived as a source of development, as a historical laboratory of progress. The appearance and manifestation of a historically new sort of effects that result from the inner dynamics of contradictions--the structuring, homogenizing, propulsive and dynamizing ones in the lawlike realization of multilaterally developed socialism--are specific to the social order that we are building.

At the same time, against the background of the extreme complexity of the economic and social processes, of gaps and disproportions that appear between different sectors of activity, and of the interdependences of the contemporary world, contradictions that may have negative effects can also manifest themselves. Of course, it would be unfounded and unrealistic for us to feel that, since, historically, our society has gone beyond the stage of the preeminence of the antagonistic type of contradictions, negative consequences could not come from the real, contradictory dynamics of social life. However, the multitude of the modes of evolution and manifestation of the contradictions must continually be put in a necessary connection with the higher, organic capacities that the Romanian society of today possesses for the lawlike imposition of the tendencies of its development, of progress, of the achievement of an agreement and an equilibrium between all spheres and levels of society, in accordance with the strategy of multilaterality.

This is why the knowing and deciphering of the contradictions, the concrete historical approach to them, the utilization of scientifically substantiated criteria for typologizing and classifying the different contradictions, and the exploration of the ways and means that must be activated in order to arrive at progressive solutions constitute an indispensable factor for the continual improvement of social life in the current stage. This presupposes the continual performance of theoretical, ideological, organizational and political-educational work oriented toward the direct realities, interwoven with these realities and involved in its innermost structures. What defines our party's policy from this viewpoint is /the continual action of promoting those aspects of the contradictions which are bearers of the new, which are connected with the inherent laws of progress/. The matter of knowing more deeply the dimensions of the struggle between the old and the new and creating the necessary and sufficient conditions for instituting the higher-value new, as an actual state, as a synthetic indicator of development, represents a basic choice of the policy of the Romanian Communist Party.

The past few years--marked by essential reconstructions and conceptual improvements, by moldings of the practical, revolutionary activity in accordance with these steps--have brought new elements to the very strategy of promoting the new. First, the affirmation of the new is inseparably connected with the qualitative and intensive aspects of economic and social activity. What is defined as new will no longer appear only as an accumulation of experience, but as a revolutionary step, capable of utilizing higher potentialities, expressed by efficiency, profitability, rationality and so on. From the perspective of the struggle between the old and the new, the choice of quality has become a basic act in utilizing the multilateral capacities that our socialist society possesses. Then, the institution of the new appears to us not only as an objectively necessary act in relation to the inherent contradictions of economic and social life, but also as a state really enriched in its concrete data, in its own identity. We can thus note that the ontological reality of the new (that is, its existence as such, testable with the help of well-defined indicators) is interwoven with the praxeological reality (the basing of the promotion of the new on a complex process of knowledge and action) and with the ideological reality (the battle of ideas, the debate on a conceptual level, the selection between alternatives worked out by intensely and frequently consulting the working people).

This complex field of the reality of the new can be demonstrated by many examples. For instance, the new historical reality of the complementarity between the socializing function and the humanizing function of social labor is becoming more and more a propulsive factor in the realization of the new as an indicator of practical, revolutionary humanism. Or, to refer to the field of economic life, the thesis regarding the growth of the efficiency of accumulation has special implications for the way in which are explored the ways of the new in the general development of the country, in the growth of national income. These examples, which could go on, have a common denominator, a trait that unites them: not being an end in itself and, all the less, a mere chronological choice, the new asserts itself as an essential means of structuring the successive states of general progress of society, of resolving the contradictions of each stage of development.

The analysis of the characteristics and the methods of the promotion of the new also shows us another aspect: that of the determined, exacting and critical, antidogmatic abandonment of everything that no longer corresponds to the current and long-term requirements of development. Our party, generalizing the experience of socialist construction, penetrating with the means of scientific analysis into the dialectics of building the new society, points out that the old, which is obsolete, both as an objective reality and as a subjective reality, does not disappear on its own. There is a need for much political courage, for a manifest revolutionary spirit, open to clearly identifying and defining the old, to acting firmly to eliminate it from the objective reality, from the structures of society and of social and individual consciousness. Many economic, political, legal, educational, organizational and other actions meant to limit the obsolete phenomena and to block their mechanisms of social reproduction have been undertaken in recent years. Of course, the solutions are not complete, there still are some obstructive phenomena and functions of obsolete structures. However, we possess--in the light of the decisions of the 12th congress and the national conference of the party and of the latest plenums of the Central Committee--a clear operational model for promoting the new and are acting openly, within the complex and contradictory realities of life, in close unity, under the leadership of the party and its secretary general, to demonstrate practically the fundamental capacities for value innovation that multilaterally developed socialism possesses.

The Main Contradictions of Our Society in the Current Stage

Analyzing the current stage of our society's development, the interdependence of the objective and subjective factors of progress, and the profound dialectics of the economic and social processes, the secretary general of the party has defined the main contradictions that are now manifesting themselves and the concrete historical solutions to these contradictions. Resulting from the very essence of the concept of the multilaterally developed socialist society, from the complexity of the revolutionary process of building this society, the identification and definition of the contradictions of the current stage are meant to make evident the innovative resources that we possess for securing steady progress, in accordance with the laws of economic and social life.

The picture of the main contradictions, as it was outlined in the report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the national conference of the party in December 1982, includes different spheres and levels of our society, viewed in a close dialectical connection and approached from the angle of historical determinism. /The contradiction that is manifesting itself between the strong development of the production forces and the development of the social and production relations/, the latter having a certain tendency to lag behind, must be understood in this perspective. Forming at the level of the mode of production, this contradiction occupies a priority place in the political strategy for resolving all of the contradictions of the current stage. The political and legal measures undertaken recently to further improve the ownership and social relations in a broad sense, the forms of management and planning, the organization of and remuneration for labor, and the ways of participation by the masses in attaining the objectives contained in the programmatic documents of the party indicate consistent concern for exploring and applying essential

solutions, materialized in the sphere of the determinative processes of development.

Starting from the analysis of these processes--especially the economic ones--the secretary general of the party has also defined some varying levels of the constitution of the contradictory dynamics of the social aggregate. Thus, /the disproportion between the processing industry and the base of energy and raw materials and that between the strong development of industry and the slower development of agriculture/ have been defined. These disproportions, understood as gradual aspects of predominantly economic contradictions, refer--as is observed--to the basic production activities and to the material resources that we possess in carrying out these activities.

The deterministic view that permeates the analytical model contained in the party documents and the dialectical spirit of the approach to investigating the characteristics of development in the current stage are thus reflected not only in the definition of the contradictions that pervade decisive fields in the whole of society but also in the understanding of the fact that /the contradictory movement of the economic realities is achieved varyingly, gradually, with some disproportions, gaps and imbalances appearing in its mechanisms/. Consequently, the contradictions do not manifest themselves totally and all at once and cannot be treated in an absolutizing manner or fetishized in any particular way. The concrete treatment of the dialectics of the historical process has a particular principled and practical significance: it indicates both the flexibility of the analysis contained in the party documents and the exploration of the most suitable ways to resolve the contradictions according to their nature and the real stage that they have reached in the process of formation.

Covering a wide sphere of the manifestation of the contradictions, the analyses contained in the party documents also refer to certain characteristics of the human factor, viewed in the context of their economic determinations. Thus, the contradictions that are manifesting themselves /between the consumption requirements and the existing possibilities and between the development of the production forces and of the technical base of society and the level of socialist consciousness and of professional and technical training of the masses/ have been defined.

The first of these contradictions refers to the dialectical connection between production and consumption, to the fact that, in some sectors, the consumption requirements exceed to a certain extent the possibilities and the current level of the economy. The concern for continually improving the human condition, for increasing the possibilities of satisfying the requirements of the people on the basis of the labor performed, of growth in labor productivity and economic efficiency in general, of the achievement of as strong an agreement as possible between the real production, rational consumption and labor remuneration, is reflected in the identification of this contradiction and in the exploration of the ways to resolve it.

There being alien to it any unilateralizing perspective regarding the position and role of the human factor within the contradictions of the current stage, our party also has in mind, at the same time, the spiritual aspects of the

human condition, the necessity of the fulfillment of the personality, through a close blending of the forms and levels of the new, socialist consciousness, in accordance with the degree of development of the material base of society, with the requirements of multilateral training--political, ideological, moral, technical and professional.

Defining the main contradictions of the current stage, the secretary general of the party has in mind /the multitude of their forms of manifestation, both on an overall level and on a territorial basis or in the sphere of the economic and social units/. It is necessary to understand that these contradictions do not manifest themselves at any time and in any place, in an invariable way. Deep knowledge of the realities presupposes the avoidance of both the danger of the absolutization and fetishization of contradictions or aspects of them and the mistakes that can result from minimizing or ignoring the contradictory character of social life, of development in the totality of its determinations.

On the other hand, it is necessary for us to bear in mind equally /the interdependence of the types of contradictions/, their organic systemicity, and the fact that--regardless of the degree to which and the way in which they make their presence felt--/they act through people, through concrete human activity/. Contradictions cannot and must not be idealized in any particular way, they do not manifest themselves above the direct social relations, but within these relations, in their specific province. At the same time, in the face of the contradictions, it is not possible to adopt just a cognitive attitude, one of identifying and defining them, no matter how explicit and complete this may be. Knowledge of the contradictions is undoubtedly necessary, but it affirms itself only as /a premise for the revolutionary action of resolving them/, of firmly promoting the advanced aspects that they contain and of achieving a dynamic equilibrium between all sectors of activity.

New, Far-Reaching Ways To Resolve the Contradictions and Eliminate the Disproportions in Different Fields of Economic and Social Activity

Making a realistic, clear analysis of the characteristics of the dialectics of our society, our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have the special merit of having uncovered and activated new ways and resources of the action of resolving the contradictions and disproportions that are manifesting themselves in the current stage.

The distinctive feature of the actional model built in this regard is /its principled and practical adequation to the immediate and long-term requirements of the development of our society/. At the same time, this model is based on complete confidence in man, in the capacities for mobilization and united, revolutionary action by the masses of working people, under the leadership of the party--the vital center of our society.

/The profound understanding and the progressive materialization of the idea of unity between economic activity, organizational activity and political educational activity/ occupy a special place in the strategy for resolving the contradictions of the current stage. The blending of these components of the activity represents a strong factor for mobilizing all of the material and

human resources in the direction of propelling to the forefront of economic and social life the effects that result from the structuring, homogenizing contradictions specific to the dialectics of development. At the same time, it contributes to the formation of the widest framework of action for reducing, down to nothing, the sphere of appearance of phenomena (oppositions, gaps, disparities, dysfunctionalities, disharmonies, conflictual states) that can have negative, obstructive effects.

/The clear orientation of the actional model worked out by our party toward the economic priorities and toward understanding the interdependence between the objective aspects and the subjective aspects of development/ must also be noted. The integral character of the processes of development necessitates convergent actions in all sectors of activity, the finalization of all actions begun, the avoidance of any circumstantial view, and the taking of efficient, concrete organizational and political-educational steps that would stimulate the role of the intensive, conscious factors, in an actional framework imbued with responsibility, with perfect order and discipline, with intolerance toward any deviations from the moral and legal values and imperatives of our society.

Starting from the requirement of mobilizing all the forces necessary for providing a wide field of manifestation for the central tendency of the dynamics of the contradictions in our society--that of the generic result of progress, of development--the secretary general of the party has made and is making an essential, principled and practical contribution to the elucidation of all the implications of the dialectics of forging the new society. The accents that he puts on knowing promptly, in time, the contradictions and disproportions and on taking the most suitable steps to promote the new, indicate not only a strong vitality of conception and action but also the constant concern for suiting the political strategies to the characteristics of each phase of development.

In the view of our party and its secretary general, the securing of the harmonious development of all branches and sectors of activity is directly connected with /increasing the role of the masses in carrying out the party's program and the priority programs adopted by the 12th congress and the national conference in December 1982/.

The political solutions--with a broad mass basis--to the problems of development, of overcoming the different contradictions, are reflected strikingly in the continuation of the industrialization process, in the achievement of energy independence and of the new agrarian revolution, in the provision of a sensible ratio between the development fund and the consumption fund, and in the growth of the real incomes of the working people under the conditions of the firm application of the socialist principles of distribution. The very wide sphere of the approach to resolving the main contradictions of the current stage follows from the mere statement of these directions of action. We have in mind, at the same time, the continual concern of our party for the development of education and culture, of the unitary system of professional training and improvement, for the growth of the role of the political educational activity in the stimulation of initiative and of the new, in the unswerving observance of the norms and principles of socialist ethics and equity.

The adoption of a consistently resolute attitude toward the concrete contradictions that manifest themselves in each field and toward the failures in each unit or workplace presupposes /a stronger involvement of the party bodies and organizations and of all mass and public organizations in the inner dynamics of the economic and social activities/. The party and the other components of the political superstructures will thus assert themselves more and more as forces capable of stimulating the working people's capacities for innovation, of promoting the advanced experience and ideas, and of eliminating the old, the backward phenomena.

/The cultivation of revolutionary militancy, of the militant, party spirit, toward all forms of moral (and, in a broad sense, cultural) pollution, toward the methods of penetration and influence of the backward, reactionary, antisocialist conceptions that are being stirred up in the sphere of bourgeois propaganda and under the conditions of the crisis of values in the Western world/, is a major component of the political action, directly connected with the resolution of the contradictions in spiritual life.

The noting of the main lines of the actional mode and framework for resolving the contradictions and disproportions in different sectors of activity attests that our party and its secretary general have devised and are applying a complex, multidimensional political strategy with regard to the dialectics of our society--in this particular case, to the essence and characteristics of the contradictions specific to the current stage of forging the multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania toward communism.

12105

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ARRESTEE'S SUICIDE IN DETENTION CELL UPSETS PUBLIC

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1724, 15 Jan 84 p 22

[Commentary by Milan Mihajlovic: "He Hung Himself in Self-defense"]

[Text] The citizens of Krusevac are much upset by the suicide of Slobodan Popovic, nicknamed Cile, 41, the father of two minor children and a hard worker at the local factory that produces vegetable oils. His suicide occurred 24 December 1983 in a SUP (secretariat for internal affairs) detention cell. Before being escorted to the officer on duty at the police station, Popovic had been sitting with friends in the Fontana cafe. Patrolman Zlatko Jovanovic arrived a little later. Popovic did not create a disturbance in the cafe, but we are told that he was squabbling about something with patrolman Jovanovic. The two had been good friends and associates when both worked at the Merima plant but had later quarrelled and not spoken to each other for years.

The 36-year-old policeman's pride must have been wounded on this occasion if he called on the duty patrol to send a paddy wagon to pick up Popovic. The others in the cafe watched the whole scene silently and later commented regretfully on the situation. Patrolman Jovanovic was known around town to beat up people, was known to have been sentenced for earlier incidents of physical abuse of detainees, was known to have been suspended from duty for a whole year. The premonition of evil turned into reality. Two days later, an obituary placard appeared in town to the effect that Popovic had "tragically lost his life on SUP premises." The day after the funeral, the workers at the Merima factory conducted a silent protest, unable to believe that their popular friend had raised a hand against himself. A black-humor line began to circulate around town: "He hung himself in self-defense."

The original SUP announcement stated that detainee Popovic had hung himself in the detention cell with his stockings. Two days later, newsmen were informed at SUP that patrolman Jovanovic was being held on suspicion of having beaten detainee Popovic, inflicting several physical injuries, and driving Popovic to suicide. This explanation was certainly incomplete, both for the public at large and for newsmen, even if the patrolman was being held for questioning.

Disciplinary proceedings have also been initiated against Vladimir Dimitrijevic, who was in charge of the duty service when the tragic event occurred, and patrolman Dusan Trboljevac, for serious infractions of their duties, although neither participated in the beating or even knew that patrolman Jovanovic was beating detainee Popovic.

So far, this is all that the authorities have had to say. The court will determine how many people are at fault for Popovic's death. However, answers to certain question about this tragedy need to be sought in SUP first of all. Why did a patrolman have to call a paddy wagon over a personal insult? A policeman, if not inclined to infractions and offenses, can find a more humane solution than escorting someone to the police station. Next, why did policeman Jovanovic escort detainee Popovic to the detention cell when policemen were on duty at the station? No one in SUP can say that policeman Jovanovic's colleagues were unaware that he was inclined to physical abuse against detainees. Then why was he allowed to concern himself with public order among the citizenry?

Krusevac SUP employees express profound regret, in any case, for this tragic occurrence, unique in their service up to this point. Nonetheless, this service's reputation is severely weakened, and not just among the inhabitants of Krusevac.

CSO: 2800/205

CATHOLIC CITIZEN URGES POLITICAL EQUALITY FOR BELIEVERS

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 84 pp 2, 4

[Letter-to-editor by Tomislav Horvat, Zagreb]

[Excerpts] I, too, have been following with interest the recent reports on discussions in the LCY Commission for Statutory Questions on the conditions under which it is permissible for LC members to participate in religious actions and on "illegal believers" in the LC. Prompted by these discussions, I hope that this commission, as well as the wider LCY membership, will discuss more openly and broadly the question of its direct relationship to citizens who are believers and whether such citizens can be pushed into "political anonymity" within the...political system, and whether the political system should deprive itself of the positive and creative action of those citizens who are believers....

As simply a citizen who is a believer, my personal view is that the negative designation of religion should be removed from LCY program documents. I wish that my potential value and opportunity were equal to the potential of citizens who are atheists. Regardless of whether I am or am not a member of the LCY, yet considering that it is a question which deeply touches the life of every religious person in our socialist system, I believe that I have the right to express and explain my view on this question. I am writing this exclusively from the position and intention of a citizen who is a believer and who feels in everyday life the burden of this negative designation of religion, by the leading political power, i.e., the LCY (both in its program and practice). If the leading sociopolitical organization, which is the main bearer of political power in the country and which defines the state community and establishes the goals of the entire political, economic and cultural life of Yugoslavia and all its peoples and nationalities, negatively defines the religious conviction of citizens who are believers, this can have only negative consequences for the political (and other) status of these citizens in the political and social system, thereby also on the level of their inclusion in and orientation toward the existing system. I would omit this time pointing to the examples in which the fact that a citizen was a believer was the reason for his discrimination in certain situations...and the basis for establishing his moral-political unsuitability and frequent labeling as a "clericalist."

...[Considering the changes in thinking which have taken place in both Marxism and the Catholic Church since the war and] keeping in mind the Marxist method of thought and relation to reality and the application of this method in analyzing all these changes, I believe that we believers can expect a re-examination and re-formation of the official LCY view of religion and believers. Many facts point to the need for such a re-examination of this negative view.

Marxists say that Marx did not formulate and define the question of religion essentially...so that different socialist movements and communist parties have not only different approaches but even opposite approaches to the question of religion. The prognosis that the development of socialism and rule by the working class would eliminate religion and reduce the number of believers has nowhere been fulfilled. It is also doubtful whom to consider religious and whom not, if our scholars have disclosed the fact that there are more believers among [so-called] atheists than among those with religious affiliation....

If it happened that...the negative designation of religion were eliminated (which should not in any way mean that every religion in itself and in all cases is positive and that atheism is also [positive]), I believe that this would not have a noticeable effect either on the number of LCY members or on the proclaimed policy of this sociopolitical organization. The important thing in all this is that citizens who are believers should acquire a positive and equal political status, equal in all things to that of atheist citizens.

This proposal would not disrupt the existing constitutional separation of church and state but would form the basis for an even more consistent application of this principle. The reason for this is [as follows]: As long as believers and their religion are considered a negative quality in the political system which has resulted in the fact that they are outside the main centers of political power..., then a specific political consciousness and interest develops on the basis of their political position which seeks and perhaps finds their political representative in church organizations. And this is the phenomenon which is called clericalism. One should re-examine whether the functioning of the existing political system also does not contribute to...clericalism, [a term] which is mentioned quite frequently lately. This would be worth analyzing more precisely, but it is difficult to assume that existing church organizations which receive their social and political autonomy from the political power represent the main source of clericalism. I think that one of the main sources of possible clericalism proceeds from the dominant negative designation of religion in the political system. ...Historical experience has undoubtedly shown that clericalism damages most of all its own faith, leading religious communities into a situation where there is more preoccupation with something else than with religion itself.... The solution under our conditions is for believers to be more actively included as citizens in many kinds of actions to the benefit of all, and to directly solve the question of their social and political status in this way. The prerequisite for this is to grant a basic trust to believers that they are ready and able to do as well on all levels of decisionmaking as atheist citizens. This trust should be granted to them not because they are believers but because they are citizens. In such a new situation the possibility for democratic dialogue would be created to resolve more quickly and easily controversial questions, lack of clarity and abnormalities.

SERBIAN ORTHODOX PAPER DESCRIBES TRIP THROUGH KOSOVO

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVLJE in Serbo-Croatian 15 Nov 83 pp 5-6

[Article by Atanasije Jevtic: "From Kosovo to Jadovno"]

[Excerpts] Over the past several months, in the summer and fall, I visited Kosovo several times. I was in virtually every part of the province: in Prizren and its surrounding area; in the Sredac and Sirinic parishes, in Urosevac and Lipljan; in Gnjilane and surroundings; in Gracanica, Pristina and Podujevo; in Vucitrn and its nearby villages (where I once served as a soldier); in Mitrovica and Devic; in Glogovac and Kosovo Polje; in Suvi-Do and in the Goles foothills; in Orahovac and in Hoca; in the monastery of Zocisce and the monastery of Sveta Trojica at Suva Reka; in Djakovica and Decani; in the monastery of Gorioe and in Istok; in Klina and Djurakovac; and of course in Pec and the Pec Patriarchate.

We are accustomed to following developments in Kosovo through the media, and I have done so almost daily. During my travels through Kosovo these past several months there has been much to see, hear, and read in the media, of which I present below only a synopsis. This by no means represents a "comprehensive analysis" of the "entire situation" in Kosovo. Indeed, such an analysis nowhere yet exists.

To wit: "Emigration from Kosovo continues unabated;" "Emigration is the greatest evil;" "Emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo must always be viewed realistically;" "Emigration remains a problem of the greatest political consequences;" "Some believe that the chief and only aim of Albanian nationalism and irredentism is the harassment of Serbs and Montenegrins aimed toward driving them from Kosovo" (this last quote is from Azem Vlasi, although he himself does not agree with the statement); "Everyone should feel equal" (curious, to give such an order regarding feelings!); "The fact of emigration is per se evidence of a surplus;" "The political and security situation is stabilizing, but the enemy is continuing to make himself known by writing slogans, setting fires, attempts at sabotage, and propaganda;" "The perfidious enemy does not rest;" "Now the pressure is more subtle;" "Daily life in Kosovo continues to spur, though less than before, the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins;" "Figures are inexact, but it is estimated that in the past two decades emigration from Kosovo totaled 200,000;" "Current emigration is the result of past political practices which have

here often had a feudal character. These practices are of long standing and have become accepted as normal;" "The irredentists are much closer to realizing the concept of an 'ethnically pure' Kosovo today than they were in the time of the demonstrations;" "If the pace of emigration is not halted, the irredentists could rapidly attain their goal of an ethnically pure Kosovo;" "From October 1982 to March 1983, about 3,000 persons left Kosovo, whereas 105 returned;" "For the past 2 years, emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins stands at approximately 15,000;"...

..."Each month, 400 Serbs and Montenegrins emigrate to Serbia from Kosovo;" "The most brutal methods employed to maintain tensions in inter-nationality relations are physical attacks, scare tactics and property damage... There are frequent arguments, abuse, insults, and the writing of slogans on the homes of Serbs and Montenegrins such as 'Down with Serbia and Serbs,' 'Serbs go home,' and the like;" "Emigrations without explanation;" "Kosovo courts swamped with suits;" "Institutions of authority fail to carry out their duties;" "The backlog of cases in courts of law remains unimproved;" "There is still self-management legislation in the Socialist Autonomous Province (SAP) of Kosovo concerning labor relations which discriminate against Serbs and Montenegrins;" "Recently several disgusting acts of the enemy have been recorded, from the defacement of gravestones to the rapes of very young and very old women of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality;" "Pressure creates insecurity not only among Serbs and Montenegrins, but to a degree among Albanians as well;" Also certain Orthodox priests "contribute to" emigration by their increased preaching about the fate of Serbianism in Kosovo." "This is said perhaps to provide 'balance' --those who don't worry, don't make others worry;" "Who's pulling the wool over whose eyes?" "If you ask Serbs or Montenegrins about the current state of affairs in their opstina (Decani), they simply shrug their shoulders. Some will speak up, but only after having determined that your intentions are good and having taken you into their homes. There are those who feel that the devil is ever busy and so it's best to hold one's tongue;" "The expropriation of land owned by Serbs and Montenegrins has been carried out in Gornja Brezovica and in the region of Gazivoda...with the expulsion of 55 families from their homes in midwinter, who were offered the use of trucks in order to emigrate to Serbia;" "Serbian nationalists in Kosovo are trying to create the impression that the situation there is unchanged, and that no force is capable of bringing about stabilization. Of the Albanian cadres they say that they are all the same, and of the Serbian cadres that they are composed of incompetent careerists who cannot represent the Serbian people;" "This is the third year we have heard almost the same judgments: 'The situation in Kosovo is normalizing and improving,' but at the same time 'the situation is complex and many problems remains;" "'Better' in Kosovo does not mean 'good;" "The 15-year-long exodus--insidious, gradual as the trickling sand of an hourglass--has resulted in the fact that out of 1,445 settlements in Kosovo, 608 no longer have Serbs or Montenegrins. We have neared the figure of 200,000 for those who over two decades have left the province." "Let's listen to what the 'nationalists' say, and not only in whispers: In the heart of civilized Europe, crimes are being perpetrated against the Serbian and Montenegrin people in their own country. Despite the erroneous nature of this slogan, it expressed a reality, and there is no proof that it is without a response

"Since 1981, emigration from Kosovo to Serbia alone has numbered 10,000 Serbs and Montenegrins." "Despite efforts to the contrary, emigration from Kosovo is undiminished--which is confirmed by the fact that in the first 3 months of this year 132 Serbian and Montenegrain families with 427 family members, and 705 single individuals left Kosovo;" "It must not be forgotten that the intensity of emigration cannot remain constant even in theory. When Serbs and Montenegrins were more numerous, the number of emigrants was naturally higher;" "We haven't defused the bomb that threatens to shatter our unity." "Several explosions in Pristina have accomplished more than all manner of pressure" (unfortunately, these explosions continue to recur in Pristina). And so on and so forth. More quotations such as these could be listed, from the statements of politicians and the writings of newspapermen.

Still, the real situation in Kosovo cannot be determined only through statements and writings. Given the well-known tactics of "current politics" and the fact that we are [sometimes] being led down the garden path (whether purposefully or not) the media simply cannot know the totality of events in Kosovo. We cannot know everything. (Who can?) And what of the details, even when the main fact is known?

And what is the good of writing, when a great hue and cry is raised over an article on Kosovo, and an article on tragic events at that?

Still, from our travel notes we can bring wider publicity to some recent tragic events in Kosovo.

The church of Sveta Petka, in the village of Dobrcan near Gnjilane (in which, unfortunately, there remains not a single Serbian family), is frequently broken into and robbed. The latest instance was on St. Thomas Sunday. Before noon, a large number of the pious from the surrounding area congregated at the church, praying to God, lighting candles, putting their donations on the icons, and taking holy water from a spring beside the church. In the afternoon, the church was ransacked, the doors smashed and the money stolen from the icons. In this case, as in previous cases, the police turned a deaf ear to the complaint of Father Zivojin Kojic.

Bishop Paule of Prizren and a group of priests which included myself were pelted with stones thrown by Albanian children outside the Prizren Saborna Church after evening service (on Wednesday, 14 September). But as has been his custom, the bishop refused to make a complaint.

On innumerable occasions the Sisters of the Monastery of Sveta Trojica at Musutiste, particularly Sisters Katarine and Desanka, have been stoned and grabbed at, with the shouts: "Kosovo is ours, go back to Serbia!" and "Go ahead and sue me, the judge is one of us!"

In the town of Pec, on the even of the St. John the Baptist holiday (10 September), the Albanian neighbors of a Serb in Meto Bariaktari Street tore down his wall at 11 pm so as to enlarge their yard. (I have learned that the culprits were caught.)

In the village Dobrusa near Istok, Albanians who had previously destroyed 50 fruit trees belonging to a Serb destroyed yet more and beat up his younger brother.

In a school in Djakovica, an Albanian student wearing a sweater of red and black, the colors of the Albanian flag defied the Serbian teacher before her entire class.

A Serbian woman working at a post office in Prizren was mistreated at her work window. When she changed windows, she suffered an even worse fate.

Instances of rapes of minors and old women in villages and monasteries have had greater echoes by word of mouth among the people than publicity in the newspapers. The newspapers have recounted only some of these instances. (For example, POLITIKA--SVET number 42 of October, in which the shriek of anguish and hopelessness of a father best describes the tragedy of our mothers, daughters and sisters in Kosovo: "I can't describe what it's like to have your little daughter raped on your own land.... There is nothing left for us here. We've had it 'up to here'.")

Fires in the monastery of Devic have been frequent and worrisome. After last winter's burning of their entire stockpile of livestock feed, on the eve of Assumption Day a fence of 68 meters enclosing their vineyard was set ablaze. A 15-year old from the nearby village of Lause was apprehended and he confessed to the arson.

Unfortunately, there is nothing new in Albanian minors and children harassing the Serbian populace, their homes, properties, graves, and holy places. One only asks how such hatred of Serbs and all that is Serbian in Kosovo could be manifested in ones so young. For example, how can we explain the spitting and attacks on Serbian automobiles and buses, Serbian passengers, and particularly the clergy, by children of Albanian nationality--not only in Pristina and other cities, but also in rural villages and on crossroads? (Who among us has escaped this treatment?) Or again: the desecration with human excrement of the Prizren Saborna Church last winter or the recent defilement of the monument to the Kosovo Heroes at Gazi Mestan by slogans written with human excrement in the Albanian language.

Perhaps the best explanation is that given by the Abbess of Pec Patriarchate, Fevronija, for the countless stonings of windows and roofs of that monastery largely by minors: "They have lost their own faith, and so want to destroy ours." A report of her account and those of others concerning the Pec Patriarchate was published by "INTERVIU (2 and 16 September), around which a vehement campaign has grown, characteristic of the current atmosphere in Kosovo.

We do not claim that all members of the younger generation of Kosovo's Albanians are like this, or that all adult Albanians are hostile to Serbs and those things that Serbs hold sacred. Mother Paraskeva of Devic said it well: "There are those among them who also want to help us, and come to us to tell us what is being done and said abroad among the people." Truly

touching is the example of Ismail Gasi, of the village of Turjak near Pec, who with his sons erected a wall around an Orthodox graveyard (the press did not fail to publicize this); of the relationship between certain Albanians and the Zociste Monastery near Orahovac, where many of the Albanian sick come to have prayers read for their health.

What, then, are we to make of the fact that in this same village of Turjak near Pec, where Gasi erected a fence around the Serbian graveyard, as well as in a neighboring village, there remains not a single Serbian family, though once there were about 120 families? Or of the fact, transmitted by TV Belgrade on 6 October from a report of the Glogovac Opstina organs, that Serbian emigration from there has stopped--to which Kosta Bulatovic, a Serb from Kosovo Polje, replied that in Glogovac there is no one left to emigrate, since there remain only a solitary old woman and her daughter (this fact has been confirmed)? Similar to this report is a recent one from Serbica Opstina that "emigration there is diminishing," though it is well known that the Serbian population there has fallen to a small percentage. Perhaps emigration will not be successfully stopped until, as Bulatovic said there is no one left to emigrate.

There are various pressures at work which we outside Kosovo cannot imagine. How, for example, is one to explain the type of pressure which arises when threatening letters are sent to Serbs, ostensibly by other Serbs? Or when, in the words of a Serb from Pec: "They are hardly punished for deeds, where we are punished for mere words." A woman from the Goles foothills complained to me in the Gracanica monastery: "We Serbs cannot even obtain those necessities of life which are in short supply, though the Albanians receive them as soon as they are in stock. They say this situation is in order. This only demoralizes us, for if this is an orderly situation, then we cannot survive here any longer. This is worse than our earlier flight from Kosovo (in 1941). Then, at least, we were able to return, for there was a war. But today?"

All that we have revealed here, and much more which we have not revealed, which is "not for revealing", --all this testifies to the fact that Kosovo's wounds are far from healed because, as a newspaperman recently wrote: "It's enough to spend a half hour with a Serb or Montenegrin to discover many terrible and secret things." This is best seen in the atmosphere at stations, in buses, trains, in the villages and market places. Not only has trust between nations been lost, but our people, unfortunately, have lost trust among themselves and in themselves. It wasn't hard to see how Serbs "spied" on one another: concerning who, where, and how one bought land for a house, naturally in Serbia--in Krusevac, Kraljevo, Kragujevac. This information is kept not only from the authorities, but also from one's nearest neighbor. One farmer in Gnjlane told me that in his village he knows of at least 20 who have bought land in Serbia. Even if they don't speak of this, it is anticipated that they will leave. I have even sadly learned that there are a number of our clergy in Kosovo who are building houses in Krusevac and Kraljevo.

Why are today the Serbs of Kosovo so depressed and demoralized? Why are they fleeing, instead of defending their basic human rights? Perhaps because a number of cases of such defense of oneself and one's property have ended in bloodshed and often in death. Perhaps there is before one's eyes some as-yet unhealed wound, to oneself, one's family, one's neighbor, one's people.

When I was in the company of some friends near the close of my trip through Kosovo, I came to visit the grave of Danilo Milincic from Samodreza, who was killed last year on his family property and buried next to the church in Vucitrn. Then I saw a different Serbian posture. On the gravestone erected by his mother Danica, son Ivan, daughter Ivana, and brothers Pavle and Miroslav, are written these simple but moving words which testify to the indomitable spirit of the people to whom Danilo belonged, as do we all.

Son, father, brother, kin
You died in freedom
A criminal came
And cowardly tore your heart
Left your children orphans
Draped your brothers and sisters in black
But heroically you died
Defending your patrimony
But a living creative never dies
He is ever with us.

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FORMER DIRECTOR OF LIBER DISCUSSES STATUS OF PUBLISHING

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo Croatian 28 Oct 83 pp 36-37

[Article by Dragan Tanasic: "The Editor and His Book"]

[Text] An editor follows a book from the point of conception of the idea for it, persuades a writer to write it, later devises the technical layout of the book in collaboration with his colleagues on the editorial staff, and at the last concerns himself with sale of the book. He lives with it constantly; to put it simply, he loves it.

It is a rule that every autumn during the book fair in Belgrade there will be a lively discussion about the book crisis, about the inaccessibility of books, about the fact we have a great number of publishers but few good titles, and about helplessness in overcoming these barriers and having a book captivate readers.

What are the thoughts about all this of Slavko Goldstajn? Until recently he was director of the Liber University Publications in Zagreb and currently is an editor at the Cankarjev Publishers in Ljubljana, a publisher which for some time now has been irrefutably proving that the concept of high price is indeed a relative one: Some of "Liber's" editions have been expensive, but these expensive editions have quickly sold out.

What Has Happened to Us?

While Goldstajn was director of Liber this house published Deutscher's "Trotzky Trilogy;" Lasicev's "Conflict on the Literary Left;" Root, Stalk, Clematis" of Gojko Nikolis, and Micunovic's "Moscow Years." All of them are, if they can be so termed, purely analytical books and all one publishing success after another. Thus we asked Goldstajn if he will cultivate literature of this kind at the new publishing house.

Goldstajn will not take credit for all of Liber's successes.

"There were other people at Liber who brought in a particular author or a particular book. There were also authors who came to Liber for other reasons and not because of me. Of course, it is true that the books you

mentioned really were the result of my editorial work, and it seems to me to be no accident that they all have a common denominator and that they could all be published under the same general heading: What has happened to us and how it is happening to us. I want to say that such topics are one of my passions, and sometimes I want to write the foreward to such books. Of course, the authors sense this and the books begin to evolve as if by themselves.

The Slovene Cankarjev Publishers program will continue on the path it has followed in the past, absorbing the expansions and additions which editors always bring with them. In the Serbo-Croatian editions, to be edited by Goldstajn, a series designated 'N' will be of the same nature as the Liber series already mentioned. To be specific, Goldstajn has thought it over and wants it to be a series not restricted exclusively to literature, or journalism, or scientific topics. On the contrary, all genres will be represented in this series, and all these writings as a group will be marked by this critical, analytical tone, in a particular broad sense. "We contemporaries trace our roots back to forerunners whom we must also analyze," said Goldstajn.

Books Which Will Be Talked About

What manuscripts are currently available, and will they make their appearance at the 1983 book fair in Belgrade?

"No, and intentionally so. We began working here only 2 months ago and the first books in this series will be printed at the beginning of 1984. They will fall into two categories. The first is that of textbooks and dictionaries, and books translated from Slovene, and the second that of original publications already referred to." Goldstajn is planning three subgroups in the latter category. The first is that of books which the editorial board has approved and will definitely be printed. In the second are books which have only been discussed by a narrow circle of persons on the editorial staff of the Cankarjev Publishers, headed by the director, although they are already in preparation and will be printed as soon as the editorial board has given its approval. The third subgroup includes books which are merely being discussed.

We asked Goldstajn to give us at least a few names of authors. "The book 'Five Diplomatic Missions' by Arsa Milatovic is already at the printer's. The book essentially contains his reminiscences of his stays in Rome, Sofia, Tirana, Bucharest, and Warsaw. Also at the printer's is the book by Andrej Novak, 'Pope Karol Wojtyla,' a political portrait and biography. A third book is made up of writings by a group of Slovene authors and is entitled 'Albania and the Albanians.' The fourth is 'The Diary of Alojzij Stepinac,' with commentary by Vojmir Kljakovic. There are also two translations of novels by Slovene writers: 'Minutes of the Meeting' by Vladimir Kavcic and 'Fragment II' by Lojzet Kovacic. The works of these writers are fully in keeping with the theme of the series."

We get the impression that Goldstajn expects the most from the second group of books. They also include the new book by Veljko Micunovic, "Moscow Years II," which it is hoped will soon appear in print. Then there is the 'Red Circles' by the Belgrade Journalist Pera Simic, a very interesting journalistic work written in good language and with great zeal, says Goldstajn. Our well-known economist Marjan Korosic has agreed to edit a book entitled "Proposal 84." In it four or five prominent scientists, economists, sociologists, and legal experts talk, not about the situation in which we find ourselves, but what should be done immediately in the coming year if we are to emerge from the existing crisis.

There is also talk of printing studies by the prominent economist Branko Horvat and the memoirs of Gustav Vlahov.

Law Not Enacted Because of Two Titles

We were interested in learning whether Slavko Goldstajn had read the new law on book publishing in Croatia and in hearing his comments on it. "I think that we are the country with the greatest number of laws in the world and that this obvious inflation of laws is also tantamount to their devaluation. As soon as one rubs against another in this great throng, one contradicts the other, and many of them cannot be enforced. One of these obviously devaluated laws is the Croatian Textbook Law, which is 3 to 4 years old and is so poorly written that it cannot be enforced.

"I would not say that the new Law on Publishing Activities is unenforceable, but again I would not say that it is successful. I think that the law has not succeeded in accomplishing certain things it set out to do, such as defining the social position of the book and improving it, not just because it gives certain definitions couched in general terms, but because it fails to say specifically how things are actually to be done. The only respect in which this law has been successful is in that of introducing much greater control into the publishing system. This ambition is entirely superfluous, since we already have councils from an earlier date to do this and it is no misfortune if, out of 15,000 titles a year, there are two which someone doesn't like."

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